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The following Life of Dr. Barwick was translated from the Latin of Dr. Peter Barwick, by Mr. Silkeiah Bedford.

This engraved Head of Dr. John Barwick is the only representation of him. Both this and the engraving of his Brother Peter Barwick are (like those at the beginning of the Life of the former in Latin) by G. Vertue.

The engraving of Peter Barwick is the only representation of him upon record.

Vide Grainger's Biograph. Hist.

for the Bedfords Vol 2. p. 307 —
and Lempriere's Biographical Dictionary





*IOHANNES BARWICK S.T.P.
Ecclesiae S^t. Pauli Londinensis Decanus.*



G. Veruc Sculp.

PETRUS BARWICK MD.
Serenissimo Regi Carolo II. e Medicis ordinarijs.



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THE
L I F E

Of the REVEREND
Dr. *John Barwick*, D.D.

Sometime FELLOW of
St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*;

And immediately after the
R E S T O R A T I O N

Successively
Dean of *DURHAM*, and St. *PAUL's*.

Written in Latin by his Brother Dr. *PETER BARWICK*,
formerly Fellow of the same College, and afterwards
Physician in Ordinary to King *CHARLES II.*

Translated into *English*

By the EDITOR of the *Latin LIFE*.

With some NOTES to illustrate the HISTORY,
and a brief ACCOUNT of the AUTHOR.

To which is added,

An *APPENDIX* of LETTERS

From King *Charles I.* in his Confinement, and King
Charles II. and the Earl of *Clarendon* in their Exile,
And other Papers relating to the History of that Time.

Published from the

Originals in St. *John's* College Library.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. BETTENHAM, M. DCC. XXIV.

THE

LIFE

OF

DR. JOHN W. WATSON, D.D.

BY

DR. JOHN W. WATSON, D.D.

OF

NEW-YORK

Published by

W. H. BROWN, 107 NASSAU ST.

1856

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NEW YORK

W. H. BROWN, 107 NASSAU ST.



THE
PREFACE.

 *BEFORE* the Reader enters upon the Life itself, it may not be thought improper to give him a short Account of the learned Author of it, and of the several Manuscripts from which it was first published in Latin, and is now translated into English.

The Author, Dr. PETER BARWICK, has himself, in the beginning of this Life, given an Account of his Family, and of his Education in the same Schools, and at the same College with his Brother; where he took the Degree of Bachelor

The P R E F A C E.

of Arts at the end of the Year 1642: And though he is so modest in the Title of his Book only to mention his having been formerly Scholar of St. John's College in Cambridge, of which his Brother had been Fellow; yet my very learned and worthy Friend Mr. Baker informs me, from Bishop Wrenn's Register, that on the Third of December 1644, he was nominated and presented by that Bishop, then a Prisoner in the Tower, to the Fellowship of that College in the Bishop of Ely's Gift, to which, though he could not be admitted through the Iniquity of the Times, yet he had certainly an undoubted Right; and might therefore have justly styled himself formerly Fellow of St. John's College, as, for that Reason, I have presumed to do, in the Title of this Book.

Leaving Cambridge probably upon the Ejectments, as his Brother did (see p. 45.) though he afterwards took his
Master

The P R E F A C E.

Master of Arts Degree there (Anno 1647.) he was invited into Leicestershire, to be Tutor to a young Gentleman of great Hopes, Ferdinando Sacheverell of Old Hayes in that County, Esq; and acquitted himself so well in that Employment, that his Pupil dying some Years after, left him an Annuity of twenty Pounds for his Life, which was always most punctually paid.

Anno 1655, he was created Doctor of Physick; about two Years after which, settling to practise in London (see p. 170.) it was about the same Time he married Mrs. Sayon a Merchant's Widow, and near Kinswoman of Archbishop Laud, as we learn from the Archbishop himself, on occasion of mentioning Dean Howlet ^a her first Husband.

^a The Archbishop stiles him Mr. Richard Howlet, B. D. a Man of very good Worth, and a Dean in Ireland,

The P R E F A C E.

Husband. (Hist. of his Troubles and Trial, p. 194, 195.) *By her he had a Son that died an Infant, and three Daughters, the only Survivor of them married to Sir Ralph Dutton of Sherborn, in the County of Gloucester, Bart. then Knight of the Shire for that County;*

land, by the Rebels there turned out of all, &c. and speaking of the Opposition himself had from the Parliament in collating the Rectory of *Latchingdon* upon him, till the Lord *Kimbolton* obtained an Order from the House on that behalf, he adds the Motive, *that Mr. Howlet was Fellow of Sidney College in Cambridge, and Tutor at that Time to two Sons of the Lord Montague, the Lord Kimbolton's Uncle; at which Time also the Lord Kimbolton himself was a Student in the same College, and knew the Person and Worth of Mr. Howlet.* His Grace means, that he had been formerly Fellow, and at the same Time Tutor, &c. and it appears from a broken Register of that College (for they have no perfect one till the Year 1619, as Mr. *Baker*, who favours me with this Account, assures me) that *Richard Howlet* was admitted there in *February* 1603-4, and from a Book of Graces, Degrees, &c. in the Master's keeping, that he was elected Fellow, *Anno* 1610, upon the Nomination of *John Lord Harrington*, Baron of *Exten*, one of the Foundress's Executors. A. B. *Anno* 1607, A. M. *Anno* 1611, B. D. *Anno* 1618. and he is there styled Mr. *Richard Howlet*, B. D. Dean of *Cassels* in *Ireland*, and Rector of ——— in *Essex*: which I mention, to correct a Mistake in my Latin Preface, where from some Minutes of our Author's Life taken from the late Lady *Dutton* his Daughter, this Gentleman is called Dr. *Howlet* Dean of *Kilkenny*. See below, p. 345, 346.

The P R E F A C E.

their only surviving Son now Sir John Dutton. With her he lived very happily many Years, and at last buried her in St. Faith's, his own Parish Church.

Immediately after the Restoration, he was made one of the King's Physicians in Ordinary; and the Year following, in Acknowledgment of his and the Dean his Brother's faithful Services to the Crown, they and their Heirs for ever had, by his Majesty's Command, the Honour of an Addition to the Arms of their Family, of a red Rose irradiated with Gold, granted by a Patent^b under the Hand of Sir Edward Walker, then Garter Principal King at Arms, and under the Seal of his Office, dated 13. Car. 2. Anno 1661: a Particular, whereof though the learned Author's Modesty would not permit him to take No-

^b The Original now in the Custody of the Author's Grandson, Sir John Dutton, Bart. who favoured me with a Copy of it, printed in the Preface of the *Latin Life*.

The P R E F A C E.

tice in his Brother's Life, yet I thought it worthy to be mentioned here, in Justice to the King, as well as in Honour to them.

How zealous an Advocate the Author was for the immortal Dr. Harvey's most useful Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood, I have mentioned in my Preface to the Latin Life; and shall only observe here upon that Head farther, with Regard to an Objection in point of Chronology, that though that Discovery was first published when Dr. Barwick was a School Boy; yet it met with so much Opposition, that he was a Doctor of Physick, and very capable of maintaining and defending it, before it was generally received: For though Dr. Harvey lived to his 80th Year (viz. 1657, two Years after Dr. Barwick took

* In his *Exercitatio Anatomica de motu cordis*, printed at Franckfort 1628. See Dr. Goodall's Preface to his Historical Account of the College's Proceedings against Empiricks, &c.

The P R E F A C E.

his Degree) Mr. Wood observes, it was with much ado, that he saw his Doctrine of the Circulation of the Blood established before he died. He lived, says he, to see it, with much ado established, being the only one (as he adds from another) that did so. Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 691.^d

In the course of his Practice he was particularly famous for his Knowledge in the Small-Pox, and all sorts of Fevers; and was one of those learned and judicious Physicians, whom Dr. Hodges in his Book concerning the Plague (p. 19.) observes to have done great Service in the Time of that fatal Sickness in London.

When the dreadful Fire of that City the Year following had driven him from the Neighbourhood of St. Paul's, where he had purchased a House^e for the Convenience of attending daily upon God's

^d His first Edition, which I always mean, where I do not name the second.

^e See Note^a, p. 170.

The P R E F A C E.

Service in that Cathedral; the same pious Reason determined him to take another House very near Westminster-Abbey, where he lived to a great Age, and constantly frequented the six a Clock Prayers; consecrating the beginning of every Day to God, as he always dedicated the next part of it to the Poor; not only prescribing to them in their Sickness gratis, but furnishing them with Medicines at his own Expence, and charitably relieving their other Wants.

About the Year 1671 (viz. seven Years after his Brother's Death, p. 101, 342.) he began^e at least to draw up this History of

^e As to the Time when he finished this Work, I have not insisted on the Calculation in the *Latin* Preface; concluding upon farther Consideration, that his *Appendix* must have been written before his Eye-sight quite failed him (that is, before the Year 1694) because he made a Shift to put his Name to it (p. 379.) and consequently the *Life* (composed twenty Years before, *ibid.*) must have been finished before that Year. But whereas my Author says, that *Walker*, against whom that *Appendix* was made, was some Years above seventy, when he published his Book against the King's (p. 375.) that must be a Mistake; for

The P R E F A C E.

of his Life; and himself acquaints us (p. 286, 287.) why he wrote in Latin. Twenty Years after he had finished it (p. 379.) on Dr. Walker's publishing his pretended faithful Account of the Author of Ἐικὼν Βασιλική, he composed his Appendix in Defence of the Royal Martyr's Title to that Divine Work, against the Pretences of Walker, and his Hero Bishop Gauden. His Eyesight was then so very bad, that he was forced to make use of a Friend's Hand to write it, and could hardly see to put his Name to it (p. 379.) In the Year 1694 it quite fail'd him; whereupon he gave over his Practice, and lived privately and retir'd, giving himself up intirely to Contemplation, and the Conversation of a few intimate Friends, par-

for by the Time of his Admission in St. John's (p. 16.) he appears to have been born about 1622; so that in 1692 he was but seventy Years old, and that Book of his must have been published that Year at farthest, because Dr. Hollingsworth's Answer to it was printed that Year. See the Note, p. 371.

particularly

The P R E F A C E.

ticularly his Neighbour Dr. Busby^f.

From this sedentary course of Life, the Stone, which was the only Distemper he was troubled with, grew very much upon him; and toward the end of Aug. 1705, being seized with a Vomiting and Loosness, followed with an intermitting Fever, and in a few Days with a great and sudden Evacuation of Blood, he exchanged this Life for a better on the 4th of September following, in the 86th & Year of his Age, and by his own Direction was interr'd privately, and without any Monument, near the Body of his dear Wife.

As to the Manuscripts from whence

^f See my learned Friend Mr. *Mattaire's* Epistle at the end of my *Latin* Preface, and the Inscription on the Doctor's Tomb in *Westminster-Abbey*, published in the *Antiquities* of that Church.

^g By his Daughter the late Lady *Dutton's* Account (too hastily followed in the *Latin* Preface) it was the 89th Year: But that must be a Mistake; for being seven Years younger than the Dean his Brother (p. 5.) who was born *Anno* 1612. (p. 1.) he must have been born *Anno* 1619, from which to 1705, the Year of his Death, is but 86 Years.

The P R E F A C E.

this Life was first published in Latin, the principal of them is that of St. John's College in Cambridge, by the Author's Direction, as well as at his Charge, fairly copied from his Original, bound up in Turkey Leather, with three of the King's original Letters, and an Acquittance all in his Majesty's own Hand, and repositied in that College Library, together with another Volume of the Chancellor's, Dr. Barwick's, and other original Letters and Papers relating to the same Subject, to be published when the College should think proper. The Author's own Manuscript, preserved by his Grandson Sir John Dutton, can hardly be reckoned a different one from that, which was transcribed Word for Word from it. But there is another Manuscript of this Life, all written likewise in the Author's own Hand, given by him in his Life time to Dr. Woodward, now Professor of Gresham College,

The P R E F A C E.

lege, and for some Time with the Author's Approbation at least, repositèd also in another eminent Library, that of St. Martin's in the Fields; which varying considerably from the former, and that in some Particulars, that at first View seemèd to be rather Amendments of that, than to have been amended by it, better Judges than I were for some time inclinèd to think that Manuscript the correcter of the two; as difficult as it was to account for the Author's making any considerable Alterations in a Work, repositèd with such Care and Charge for the publick Benefit, and not ordering those Alterations to be made in the Copy, for which he had shewn so much Regard. This determinèd me rather to transcribe the St. Martin's Manuscript for the Press, but with a Purpose to add from that of St. John's, whatever Particulars of any Importance were not in the other, as I had observèd there were some. Comparing
ing

The P R E F A C E.

ing them more diligently with this View, as I met several Expressions both in the one and the other, which seemed to challenge the Preference to each in their Turns: So I took Notice of one various reading, that must absolutely determine the Controversy in favour of the St. John's Manuscript ; and this is that (p. 295.) which styles Dr. Dolben now Archbishop of York, where the other calls him now Bishop of Rochester. This Alteration might have been made indeed by the Transcriber, and the (now) only refer to the Time of his copying it ; but when I found by Sir John Dutton's Original, that the Expression was the Author's own, I was convinced the St. John's Manuscript was the last Draught of the Life, and therefore resolved to follow that ; yet not so scrupulously, as either to forbear adding out of the other what was of any Moment, and seemed to be omitted in this, only to shorten the

Life

The P R E F A C E.

Life (a Reason of little Weight with the Reader) or much less minutely to alter every Word, Phrase, or Place of a Word, by the last Manuscript, in what I had transcribed from the first, where the Meaning was the same in both. I am so particular in this Account here, though it regards the Latin Edition more than this; because that had not been many Weeks published, before there was a grievous Complaint made against it; which because the Writer of the Post-Boy was too much my Friend to put out in his Paper, was printed in the Gazette of July 18, 1721, in the angry Advertisement following.

“ *Whereas a Book has been lately*
“ *printed, pretended to be the Life of*
“ *Dr. John Barwick, Dean of St.*
“ *Paul’s, written in Latin by his Bro-*
“ *ther Dr. Peter Barwick, &c. This*
“ *is to certify, that the said Book is not*
“ *the genuine Life of Dr. John Bar-*
“ *wick,*

The P R E F A C E.

“ wick, written by his said Brother :
“ For the Editor having in his Hands
“ two Manuscripts of that Life, one
“ being the Author’s first and undigest-
“ ed Thoughts ; and the other, as it
“ was afterwards by him corrected and
“ perfected: Instead of publishing it
“ from this last Manuscript (which
“ the Author left in his own Hand
“ writing, to be preserved in his Fa-
“ mily; and still farther to secure it
“ intire and uncorrupt to Posterity,
“ sent a Transcript of it, with the
“ original Letters to which it refers,
“ to be lodged in the Library of St.
“ John’s College in Cambridge, where
“ he had his Education) hath made a
“ Compilation of both, inserting what
“ the Author, upon better Informati-
“ on, had rejected, and modelling the
“ whole according to his own Humour
“ and Fancy; which new and unjusti-
“ fiable Proceeding being injurious to

The P R E F A C E.

“ *the Author, and contrary to his In-*
“ *tentions ; his Family, in order to do*
“ *Justice to his Memory, and for the*
“ *Satisfaction of the Publick, find*
“ *themselves obliged to take Notice,*
“ *that they will publish the said Life*
“ *from the genuine Manuscript in their*
“ *Custody, with such Chronological and*
“ *Historical Observations, as shall be*
“ *judged necessary to illustrate it.*

From this heavy Charge I endeavour-
ed to vindicate myself in an Advertise-
ment also to the English Reader, since
the Appeal had been made to him, who
was yet no Way concerned in the pretend-
ed Injury. It was printed in the Post-
Boy of the 25th of the same Month, in
the Words following, wherein I hope there
is as much less Passion, as I am sure there
is more Truth, than in that of the Ga-
zette.

“ *Whereas in an Advertisement*
“ *of last Tuesday's Gazette, the late*
“ *Edition*

The P R E F A C E.

“ *Edition of Dr. Barwick’s Life is cen-*
“ *sured as not genuine, but compiled*
“ *out of two different Manuscripts,*
“ *and modelled according to the Edi-*
“ *tor’s own Humour and Fancy ; be-*
“ *cause some Passages not contained in*
“ *one of those Manuscripts, are printed*
“ *from the other ; and that other Manu-*
“ *script is represented, as the Author’s*
“ *undigested Thoughts, and what*
“ *upon better Information he had*
“ *rejected : The Editor finds himself*
“ *obliged to certify, that the Manuscript*
“ *so misrepresented is all fairly written*
“ *in the Author’s own Hand, and was by*
“ *his Approbation lodged in St. Mar-*
“ *tin’s Library, as the other, with the*
“ *original Letters and Papers thereto*
“ *relating, was, in the Library of St.*
“ *John’s College in Cambridge ; that*
“ *there is no Ground to suspect the Truth*
“ *of any of the Facts mentioned in the*
“ *contested Passages ; but that on the*

The P R E F A C E.

“ *contrary they are generally supported*
“ *by the rest of the History; that the E-*
“ *ditor inserted them with no other View,*
“ *but to render the Work more complete,*
“ *and (to prevent all Exception) gave*
“ *the Reader a Particular of them in*
“ *his Preface, and left him to judge of*
“ *their Authority; that without any Ad-*
“ *dition or Alteration he has published*
“ *the Life faithfully from those two Ma-*
“ *nuscripts, and given such an Account*
“ *of this whole Matter in the Preface,*
“ *as he hoped might have satisfied all that*
“ *read it: And that being encouraged to*
“ *translate the Book, he will take that*
“ *Opportunity to give the English Read-*
“ *er, to whom the Advertisement is ad-*
“ *dressed, what farther Satisfaction may*
“ *be required; and will there add in his*
“ *own Vindication, what he presumed*
“ *there could be no Occasion for in his*
“ *Latin Preface, and what would be*
“ *too long to insist upon here.*

The P R E F A C E.

The account of this Matter in the Latin Preface, is the same I have given here, in what I have said of those two Manuscripts; which as I am confident it will clear me to every unprejudiced Reader, from any Design of injuring either my Author or the Publick, in the manner I am accused of; so the Care I took to acquaint the Reader beforehand, what those Additions were, that gave so much Offence (and that as soon as I knew the Offence was taken) must effectually prevent any such Injury, if it had been designed: And indeed it was all that was possible to be done for that Purpose, after the Impression was so near finished, as it was when the Objection was first made to me (unless I would have been at the Expence of a new Impression) and was therefore upon the Proposal accepted as the properest Expedient, by the Person who judged himself most aggriev'd; and I hop'd would accordingly have been fully acquiesc'd in:

And

The P R E F A C E.

And yet to give still farther Satisfaction, if possible, I have in this English Edition caused those contested Passages to be distinguish'd more visibly by inclosing them in Hooks, and intended also to have entered here into a particular Examination of the Facts contained in them, to prove what I have asserted in my Advertisement, that there is no Ground to suspect the Truth of any one of them; but that on the contrary they are generally supported by the rest of the History. But for fear of swelling the Preface too much, after the Notes have extended the Book to a larger Bulk than I expected, I shall leave this Inquisition to the Reader, and only challenge the Objector to shew the contrary in any one Instance. For fear he should make choice of that, wherein some, concerned forsooth for the Reputation of one of the most profligate Villains that ever breath'd, I mean Oliver Cromwell, may think the Author had judg'd too uncharitably

The P R E F A C E.

charitably of him, and therefore re-trench'd that Passage [p. 82, 83, 84, 85.] I have there added a long Note, which will abundantly prove the contrary. I shall only take Notice farther, how the Advertiser has misrepresented the Author's Intent, with Regard to his Manuscript of this Life, as if his principal design had been, to preserve it in his own Family, and his Lodging a Transcript of it, &c. in St. John's Library, had been only farther to secure it, &c. Whereas it is evident from the Expence of that Transcript, and his lodging the King's, and other original Letters and Papers with it (without which the Life itself were of little Authority) that his principal Design was, that the whole should be preserved in the College, and that in a fairer Copy than his own, till judged proper to be published: After which all the Concern he shewed for preserving it in his own Family, when he had vested the entire Right
and

The P R E F A C E.

and Title to it in the College, was not destroying his own Manuscript (no longer of any great Use, when a better Copy was taken from it, and repositied with all its Credentials in a publick Library) but leaving it among other Papers, to be destroyed or preserved, as his Heir should think fit, without the least Direction that I ever heard of about it, or so much as a Copy of those original Papers, which are the Vouchers of its Authority: So that if the Publick be ever favoured with that more genuine Edition of this Life, which the Advertiser has so long since promised, it must want the essential part of the History, which is a great deal more than mine is pretended to have too much; and I am afraid the Reader will not find so material a Defect sufficiently made amends for by the Chronological and Historical Observations, which are to adorn that Edition.



THE
L I F E
O F

Dr. John Barwick, D.D.



*D*R. *John Barwick*, whose Life I am going to write, was born April the 20th Anno 1612, at *Wetherslack* in *Westmoreland*, a Village formerly of no great Note, but render'd famous in the late Troubles, partly by the Worth of this great Man, and his unshaken Loyalty in the worst Times, partly by the glorious Death of Mr. *William Leybourne*, a Gentleman also born there, and an intimate Acquaintance of Mr. *Barwick's* almost from
B his

his Cradle, who in the beginning of the Civil War bravely lost his Life for the King in the Field of Battel, to the great Grief of all good Men, particularly of his dearest Friend Mr. *Barwick*, the Rival of his great Virtue; who, though not of honourable Parentage (as his Friend Mr. *Leybourne* was, deriving his Pedigree in a right Line from an antient Family of that Name) yet was born of honest Parents, *George Barwick* and *Jane* his Wife, whose maiden Name was *Barrow*. This *George* was the eldest Son of *Nicholas*, a Descendant of the antient Family of the *Barwicks* of *Fair a Ridg* near the little Village of *Staveley* in the North Part of *Lancashire*.

* The Latin is *Bella Lira*, which I should have translated *Fair-Harp*, but I could find no such Place in any Map of *Lancashire*. On the contrary, I am assured from a Gentleman born in that Neighbourhood, that there are only two little Villages near *Staveley*, the one *Fair Ridg* or *Rig*, the other *Fidler Hay* or *Haugh*; which latter he supposed to be the Place meant; because there were two late of the Name of *Barwick* dwelt there, the last whereof dying about four or five Years ago, left only a Daughter. But another who lives at *Fidler Hay*, says, there is one of that Name yet living at *Fair Ridg*; and he is so impartial to his own Village, as to seem more inclinable to favour the other with the Honour contended for. The two Places are so near together as to be almost contiguous, and there is enough of the Latin Name in both, to make *Bella Lira*, if put together. But my very learned Friend, who obliged me with this Information, as he has with many others, being of Opinion that *Fair Ridg* is the Place meant, I have chosen to translate it so.

The chief of the *Barwick's* Family was *Thomas de Berwick*, who in the Reign of that victorious Prince King *Edward* the Third, had the Command of all his Archers, as appears from an Instrument quoted out of the Archives by Sir *John Bankes* the King's Advocate, in one of his Arguments in the Case of *Ship-Money*, published in *Rushworth's Collections* ^b.

John Barwick's Parents had but a small Estate; yet by living frugally, and prudently managing what little they had, they decently bred up all their Children (which were

^b What my Author quotes from *Rushworth*, I cannot find in any of Sir *John Bankes's* Arguments for the King in the Case of *Ship Money*. In his second Argument of December 1637. (*Rushw. Collect. Part 2. p. 565.*) there is mention of Writs directed to most of the Sheriffs of England, to be assisting to *John de Barwick*, to the choosing and sending forth Archers ad proficiendum in Fletâ nostrâ. But the Instrument quoted for it (*viz. Pat. 23. E. 1. m. 5.*) shews, that (besides the Difference of *John* for *Thomas*, and different Spelling of the Surname) this was not in the Reign of *Edward* the Third, but of *Edward* the First. I think it is in the same Argument (*ibid. p. 575.*) there is also mention of Power given to *Thomas de B.* (for only the initial Letter of the Surname is put down) to raise Forces in Cumberland to resist the Scots, &c. But as the Instrument there cited (*Pat. 31. E. 1. m. 20.*) shews, that this was also in the Reign of *Edward* the First, so here is no Intimation of this *Thomas de B.* having had any Command over the Archers, nor indeed any certainty, that *B.* means *Berwick* or *Barwick*. In a Patent (2 *Eliz. p. 1. m. 14.*) there is mention of one *Thomas Barwick. Rymer. Fœd. &c. T. xv. p. 563.* and also in one (3 *Eliz. p. 4. m. 33. dors.*) *Ibid. p. 605.* and in the Index of that Work *Johannes Barvicus* is refer'd to *T. xvi. p. 213, 218, 301.* which I had not an Opportunity to consult.

five Sons, besides one that died young) and except Mr. *Leybourne's* Family, were as charitable to the Poor, as any in that Neighbourhood; yet far from running out their little Fortune, they left behind them double the Estate they had received from their Ancestors, without the least Imputation of any Thing sordid or undecently parsimonious in their way of living. Their eldest Son *Nicholas*, and his Brother *William*, were bred up to Husbandry; an Art of great Advantage to the Publick, and of old deservedly reckoned among those that were called *Liberal*. These two (as was but meet) at their Father's Death had each of them left him a several Farm, which they had each of them managed for him during his Life: *Nicholas* that of the Family, which descended to him by right of Inheritance; and *William*, one of not much less Value, purchased by his Father; and this, as some Reward for that Support, which the rest of their Brethren had received from their Labours: And indeed they deserved a greater; who, besides that Love to their Brothers, and Duty to their Parents, which they shewed upon all Occasions, lived in perfect Agreement with each other, and the rest
of

of the Family ; for which, as well as for their great Piety, and exemplary Probity and Goodness, they were famous through all that Neighbourhood. The youngest Brother *Edward* having obtained a Competency of School-Learning, was sent up to *London*, and put Apprentice to a Herald-Painter ; in which Business he used so much Industry and Application, and searched with such Diligence into the Antiquities of Families, and Knowledge of their several Arms, that he excelled most in that Art. But their Parents chief Concern was, that the two other Brothers, *John* and *Peter* †, should be bred Scholars, first in the Grammar Schools of that Neighbourhood, and then at *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*. It must be owned, that while they were kept at obscure mean Schools, what thro' the Neglect or the Ignorance of their Masters, they were not a little retarded in the Progress of Learning. *John* was seven Years older than *Peter*, and by that Means was very helpful to him in his Studies, as well by his good Example, as his useful Instructions.

† The Writer of this Life.

When *John* (whose Life I have undertaken to write) had lost much Time under Masters of little Diligence and not much Learning, and was now well grown, he was sent to ^d *Sedberg* School in *Yorkshire*, not without Hopes, as it afterwards proved, that he would there make a greater Proficiency in Learning. His Master there was ^e *Mr. Gilbert Nelson*, a very good Man, but that he did not constantly attend the School; for his Salary being not ^f sufficient to maintain his Wife and Family, he engaged also in a Cure of Souls, to the great Disadvantage of his Scholars. What Time

^d Founded and well endow'd (in *Henry* the Eighth's Time) by *Roger Lupton* Dr. of Canon-Law, born at *Sedberg*, and sometime Provost of *Eton* College, which he seems to have made the Model of his Foundations; for having founded eight Scholarships and two Fellowships, his Scholars were to be chosen from *Sedberg* School to *St. John's* College in *Cambridge*, as they are from *Eton* to *King's*; and in like manner his Scholars into his Fellowships, if vacant.

^e He was of *St. John's* College in *Cambridge*, mentioned in the Register of that University to have taken both his Degrees of that College, that of Bachelor of Arts *Anno* 1618-9, and that of Master of Arts *Anno* 1622; but having never been Fellow, was probably chosen Master of *Sedberg* School for his Worth, the Mastership being in the Choice of the Master and Seniors of that College, and usually fill'd with one of their own Fellows.

^f It may be his Family was very large; for as the Endowments of that School were always considerable, so they are at present better than a hundred Pounds a Year, besides Advantages from Scholars.

he could afford them, he taught them *Latin* very well, *Greek* indifferently: He was a very pleasant facetious Man, and by his merry Comments render'd so very agreeable what uses to give most Uneasiness in Learning, that his Scholars became fond of their Books, though never so hard. They were wonderfully delighted, when he undertook to explain any of the *Dramatick* Poets, particularly *Terence* or *Plautus*; for whatsoever in them seem'd difficult to the weaker Capacity of the Boys, he expounded with so much Wit and Merriment, that all who had the least Ingenuity were extreamly in Love with that sort of Learning. In order also more throughly and clearly to explain the Meaning of those Poets, whether Comedians or Tragedians, he used to teach such of his Scholars as he found fit for it, to tread the Stage now and then for their Diversion, and act the several Parts of those Plays; without which kind of Knowledge he knew he might fit them for the Lives of Monks or Hermits, but not to bear any Offices in the State, or perform the Duties of a Civil Life. Among such as were most skilful in acting Plays, he took greatest De-

light in *John Barwick*, and was mightily pleased to see him act so much to the Life the Part of *Hercules* raving in the Tragedy, as to gain the Applause of all the Spectators. This shewed that our young Scholar had now laid aside childish Sports, and was fit to converse with Men, before he left School; for *Hercules's* Buskins (as the Proverb says) are not fit for Children. But he never suffered these Diversions to interrupt the steady Course of Piety, to which he had been remarkably accustomed from his Childhood: [For I remember, when at a Breaking up for *Easter-Holidays* he came Home from School (as is usual at those great Festivals) he spent all *Good-Friday* at Church, in Devotion, suitable to that solemn Occasion; when every one else came Home after Morning-Prayer, and went not to Church again till Evening-Service: And it pleased God to call him afterwards, on the same Anniversary Fast, to give a most illustrious Proof, how sincere and hearty his Zeal was for Religion, as will be related hereafter.]

And now at last being fit for the University, in the Year 1631. he went to *Cambridge*,

bridge, and was admitted ^s in St. John's College, under the Tuition of the Reverend Mr. Thomas ^h Fothergil, who long surviv'd his dear Pupil; and who not only instructed him in Learning and good Manners, but also supported him in his Necessities; good Offices which his Pupil afterwards gratefully acknowledged, as will be mentioned more at large in its proper Place. Under the Care of this his most loving Tutor, John Barwick spared no Pains, nor declined any Study, to render himself capable of serving the Publick, which was his chief Aim. Nor yet was he so wholly wedded to his Studies, but that at leisure Hours he would frequently recreate himself with bodily Exercises, and those violent enough, such as pitching the Bar, and playing at Football; at the latter of which having once the ill Fortune to break the Collar-Bone of one of his Fellow Collegians, he was all his Life after so heartily concerned for this Misfortune, that though the Bone was well set,

^s On the fourteenth of May that Year, and at the Age of eighteen, as appears from the College Register.

^h Many Years Fellow of that College, a considerable Tutor, and a sober regular Man, who maintained the College Discipline to the height.

and soon perfectly cured, yet he would never be prevailed upon to play at Football more; so far was he from the Inhumanity of those, who have no Sense of the Misfortunes of others. Sometimes he would temper his severer Studies with softer Recreations, particularly with Musick, deservedly accounted one of the *Liberal Arts*, and that which sweetens as well as adorns all the rest; yet no one had a greater Abhorrence of that execrable Musick, which ministers to Lewdness and Intemperance. That in which he delighted was chaste, severe, sober, holy; and the Use he made of it, was to bear his Part in singing forth God's Praises in the publick Choir, with a Sweetness of Melody equal to that Fervency of Devotion, wherewith he daily celebrated them in his Closet. To this Study, which adds so much Life and Ornament to Divine Worship, he was always, by his Example as well as Advice, endeavouring to persuade such of his Fellow Collegians of the younger sort, as their Voices, their Age, and their Genius rendered capable thereof: Nor did he repent to have studied himself, what he found so useful for the Management of a Choir, when he was afterwards promoted to the Government of a Cathedral. He

He was hardly made Bachelor of Arts, before he was thought fit to be entrusted with the Management of some Affairs of the College of no little Importance; for King *Charles* the First, always most studious of preserving Peace and Concord among his Subjects, having heard, that there was like to be a fatal Contest in that College, concerning the Election of a new Master into the Place of Dr. *Gwin*, then lately i de-

¹ viz. In *June* 1633. The Parish (*All-Saints*) Register says, he was buried *Anno* 1633 *June* 20, which probably is meant of the Solemnity; for his Will is dated *June* 3^d, in the ninth of the Reign of King *Charles*, and proved *June* 8^{vo} *Anno Domini* 1633. *Regr. Testament.* for which Reason it will not be very easy to reconcile the Chronology of this Account; for all the Difficulties and Disorders with regard to the Election of a new Master to succeed Dr. *Gwin* (which indeed were very great) were over by *February* the 20th the same Year, when Dr. *Beale* (by way of Expedient) was admitted Master, the two Competitors Dr. *Lane* and Mr. *Holdsworth* being both laid aside, though the latter seems to have been elected by a good Majority. Now our young Proctor for the College having not been admitted till *May* 14. 1631 (as was said above p. 9.) which was little above two Years before these Disorders began, he could not regularly be Bachelor of Arts till several Months after they were all over, even though he had taken that Degree (as is frequently done) the Midsummer before the rest of his Year; on the contrary it appears from the University Register, that he commenc'd Bachelor of Arts *Anno* 1634-5, and Master of Arts *Anno* 1638: nor is there any Account to be met with on the College Books, of his having been deputed by the College to attend that Hearing. The learned Gentleman that in an Advertisement mentioned in the Preface, has given us Hopes of a more faithful and genuine Edition of Dr. *Barwick's* Life in Latin, than that already published, will do well to reconcile this Difficulty in his *Chronological Observations, wherewith he promises to illustrate it.*

ceas'd,

ceas'd, condescended to use his pious Endeavours to stifle the Mischief in the Birth; and to that Purpose ordered the Cause to be brought before himself, e'er the Difference had taken too deep Root. To attend this Hearing before the King in Council, and use the best Means he could, that the College should suffer nothing from either of the contending Parties, Sir *Barwick* (to give him the Stile of his Degree) was deputed by the rest of his Collegians, with Power to act as their Proctor, and Instructions proper to the Occasion. This Trust he discharged so faithfully, and so much to the Service of the College, that he thereby gained in the University the Affection of all such as rejoiced to see those Sparks of civil Discord extinguished, e'er they could break out into open Flames. Nor was it only in his own College, that he obtained hereby the Reputation of great Ability, but even among the Privy-Counsellors, and Chief Ministers of State, to whom from that Time he began to be known; and by managing the Affairs of one College, learning to dispatch publick Business, he paved the Way to those important Negotiations, wherein he was afterwards employed, so much to
the

the Service of his King and Country. Yet some of his Fellow Collegians, though not very many, who had been too busy in fomenting those Disputes, were incens'd against him for some Time, merely for disappointing their ill Designs. However they did not so much as endeavour to hinder his being chosen ^k Fellow of the College, after he had done it so signal a Piece of Service. These in their own Nature were not ill Men; yet they had a more favourable Opinion than they ought of the Attempts of those, who under the Mask of Piety, and the Pretence of promoting a purer Reformation, soon after disjointed the whole Frame of the Constitution both in Church and State; from whom, in Reward of that excessive Candor, they obtained only this Favour; that on their Refusal to come into all the Measures of these Reformers, and subscribe implicitly to all they did, they received little milder Treatment from them, than Mr. *Barwick* himself, or any other Loyalists, who had opposed their seditious Practices with all their Power: For after

^k He was chosen Fellow *pro Magistro Simpson* Apr. 5. 1636.
Regr. Coll. Fe.

some Years, a Tribe of subtle Turncoats of the Puritan Faction, compos'd of the Dregs of all those Sects, who in the Reign of King *James* the First, abusing the Clemency of that Prince, and the Lenity (not to say Easiness) of Archbishop *Abbot*, had secretly undermined and plotted the Ruin of the most flourishing Kingdom, and best constituted Church in the World, now at length began openly and barefaced to attack both, and to carry on their Designs with a high Hand: For they had got not only Friends in the Church, but Patrons even in the King's Cabinet; and with a specious shew of Piety, had impos'd on the Credulity of many good Persons, endowed with no great Penetration, and drawn them over to their Party. And now, because the two Universities, in the Opinion of these Reformers, were not enough infected with this Contagion, they employed all their Endeavours to intoxicate them yet farther: The Faction had at that Time (as from the beginning of the Reformation they had always had) some learned and good Men too much addicted to them, even among those that bore Office in the Universities; of whose Credit and Reputation at least, if not also of their Assistance,

sistance, they made too much Use, with odious Titles to blacken, and expose to the Malice of the ignorant Populace, all such as constantly served God according to the Primitive Way (who were always the greater, and in King *Charles* the First's Time, much the greatest Part of both Universities) representing them as Popishly affected; whereas they had the utmost Aversion from all Innovations in Doctrine whatsoever. They themselves in the mean Time (who laid so heavy a Charge against Men of the nicest Probity, that worshipped God in the Primitive Way) took Pains to impugn and refute the modern Doctrines of the Papists, by such as were yet more modern, fetch'd from Churches not well reformed. Mr. *Barwick* was not ashamed to take Part with those, who took Part with the Primitive Bishops and Catholick Fathers of the Church, tho' now rendered odious to the Dregs of the People; and together with so many extraordinary Persons, very famous for their Piety and Learning, strenuously to the utmost of his Power to maintain the Peace, not only of the *English*, but of the whole Catholick Church. It was much to be lamented, that very good Men should be used with Hardship

ship by such as were not bad, and the greater Part by the less; and this merely to gratify those, who were Enemies to both, and had destin'd them all without Exception, as so many Victims, to one common Destruction. In the mean Time these good Men, alas! too credulous, with vain Hopes of I know not what golden Age to be introduced by the¹ Parliament then going to meet, persisted to deceive not only themselves, but as many as they could of the young Scholars, even of other Colleges, as well as of those of which themselves were Heads. One of them, a^m venerable old Man of an exemplary good Life, sent for aⁿ Pupil of Mr. *Barwick's*, though not of his own College, who had hitherto constantly frequented the Service of the Church of *England*, and spoke to him in this manner.

¹ The infamous long Parliament that met at *Westminster* November 3^d Anno 1640,

^m Dr. *Ralph Brownrigg* Master of *Katherine Hall*, and soon after Bishop of *Exeter*.

ⁿ *Anthony*, afterwards Dr. *Walker*, Son of *William Walker*, Vicar of *Winston* in *Suffolk*, born at *Conington* in *Cambridgeshire*; and from *Ely* School at the Age of sixteen Years, admitted Pensioner of *St. John's* College, under the Tuition of Mr. *Barwick*, Apr. 3. 1638. *Regr. Coll. Joh.*

“ I wonder that your Tutor, no ill Man
 “ in other Respects, does not yet abstain
 “ from that Form of Worship, which he
 “ must needs know will be disagreeable to
 “ our excellent Parliament, and not very ac-
 “ ceptable to God himself” (for Mr. *Barwick*,
 according to the Custom of his College,
 and of the Primitive Church, used to wor-
 ship God by bowing towards the East.)
 “ But be you careful, says he, to steer your
 “ Course clear of the dangerous Rock of
 “ every Error, whether it favour of the
 “ Impiety of *Arminianism*, or of the Super-
 “ stition of *Popery*.

Upon this Advice the unhappy young
 Man immediately began to¹ warp towards
 C the

* By the course of the History, and the manner of relating this Matter, styling *Walker* only Mr. *Barwick's* Pupil and young Man, without the Title so much as of Bachelor of Arts, one would conclude it happened in the beginning of the Long Parliament, while that young Man was only Under-Graduate. But then it will be hard to reconcile what is here added, that *on this Advice he immediately began to warp*, unless it be meant of what might possibly be observed of him by some few that were intimate with him, and was unknown to others; for some Time after this, *viz.* before the sending away the University Plate to the King, which was in *August* 1642, he was still so zealous in the Royal Cause, as publickly to certify against the Rebels, by a Paper delivered into the Register's-Office under his Hand, and that of another of his College (if not also confirm'd by their Oaths) that they and diverse others had Muskets several

the *Puritans*, and was afterwards promoted to be Chaplain, in his new Way of Worship, to the Earl of ^m *Warwick*, the Lord High

ral Times discharged in at their Windows. (*Querel. Cantabr.* p. 4.) and above a Year after that, he was, it seems, so well recommended to the King, that my very worthy Friend Mr. *Baker* informs me from the College, that they have a *Mandat* from his Majesty dated *Oxford* December the 11th, 1643. to admit *Anthony Walker*, B. A. into the next Fellowship that should become void in *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*; but probably this *Mandat* was too late, the Ejectments beginning soon after: It is certain he was never Fellow. I know not how long it was after this, that Mr. *Walker* wrote the Life of his Grandfather Mr. *Bois*: My learned Friend now mentioned, (who has a Manuscript of it) tells me, it was written in the Times, and that he expresses his Loyalty therein; but as his Testimony concerning himself, in a Piece that I suppose was never published, is of no great Weight: So it is no little Abatement to what some may be willing to infer in his Favour from the *Mandat* of King *Charles* the First, that after he had sufficiently discovered himself, and been Chaplain to the Admiral of the Rebels, he yet found Means to obtain a *Mandat* also from King *Charles* the Second, for the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, dated *December* the 4th, 1662. wherein it is said, *Having received good Testimonies of the orthodox Learning,—loyal Affection,—of A. W. Master of Arts; and that for his Constancy to us and the Church—* he was by the then usurping Powers disabled from taking that Degree, &c. these are too often Things in course, and several of the Presbyterian Stamp had Degrees.

^m *Robert*, the second Earl of the present Family of *Rich*, now Earls of *Warwick* and *Holland*, and Lords *Rich* from the First of *Edward VI.* His Father *Robert* was created Earl of *Warwick* the sixth of *August*, 16. *Fac. Anno* 1618. and died *March* 4. the same Year: He died *April* 18. 1658. and was succeeded in that Honour by his two Sons successively, *Robert* and *Charles*, who both dying without Issue Male (*Robert*, *May* 29. 1659. and *Charles* *August* 24. 1675.) the Honour descended to *Robert* Earl of *Holland*, Son and Heir to this Earl's younger Brother *Henry*, who had been made Lord *Kensington*, 8. *Mar.* 20. *Fac.* and Earl of

High Admiral of the Rebels Fleet ; but the Person himself who gave him this ill Advice, was afterwards very ill treated, even by those in whose Favour he had done it. Mr. *Barwick* was something concerned at these Reproaches from his Friends, as little as he was ever moved with those of his Enemies : Indeed it was his constant Custom to return with all the good Offices in his Power whatever ill was spoken against him by any one.

That unhappy Parliament, from which such great Hopes were conceived by these candid Gentlemen, not to say credulous to their own Hurt, had not sat long, before they began to attempt Innovations, to throw all Things into Confusion, to invade the Liberty of every good Subject, and even some of their Lives, especially those two great Men, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury* ⁿ,

of *Holland*, 24. Sept. 22. *Fac.* His Son *Robert*, the second Earl of *Warwick* and *Holland*, was Father to *Edward* the late Earl, and Grandfather to *Edward Henry* the present Earl. *Dugd. Bar.* Vol. 2. p. 387, &c. *British Comp.* or *Rudiments of Honour*, Vol. 1. p. 95, 96.

ⁿ See his Life by his Chaplain Dr. *Heylin*, and the *History of his Troubles and Trial*, by Mr. *Wharton*.

and *Thomas Earl of Strafford*°, L. Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose Praises will be celebrated in all Ages for their Prudence, Piety, and Greatness of Mind, as born to succour their afflicted Country. These two consummate Statesmen, who under the best of Kings had hitherto restrained within some Bounds the

° *Sir Thomas Wentworth*, Son and Heir to *Sir William Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouse* in *Yorkshire*, Bart. (a very antient and honourable Family) Knight of the Shire for that County in many Parliaments, and for his great Abilities soon chosen of his Majesty's Privy-Council; and *July 22^d* in the fourth Year of his Reign advanced to the Title of *Baron Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouse*, and on the *10th* of *December* following to that of *Viscount Wentworth*: After this he was constituted Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and on the *12th* of *January*, *Anno 1639. 15. Car.* made *Baron Raby* (by Reason of his Descent from that great Family of *Nevill*, sometime Lords of that Place) and *Earl of Strafford*; and lastly, Knight of the Garter. On the Infurrection of the *Scots Anno 1639.* he was called Home, and made Lieutenant General of the Forces rais'd against that Invasion. He was also L. Lieutenant of *Yorkshire*, and President of the North. To remove this great Man out of their Way, who were then plotting, and afterwards effected the Ruin of our Religion and Government, the Parliament by diverse unjustifiable Devices, at length pass'd a special Bill for his Attainder, with a Clause that it should not be drawn into a Precedent; and having by sundry indirect Practices extorted the Royal Assent to it, he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill May the 12th, 1641.* His Son *William* was restored to all his Father's Honours, *17 Car. 2.* and made Knight of the Garter, who dying without Issue, left the Bulk of his Estate to his Sister's Son *Thomas Watson*, Esq; second surviving Son of *Edward Lord Rockingham*, and Brother to the present *Earl of Rockingham*, who thereupon changed his Name to *Wentworth*, and is lately deceas'd, and the Estate descended to his worthy Son *Thomas Wentworth* of *Wentworth Woodhouse*, Esq; See *Dugd. Baron. T. 2. p. 463. British Compend. or Rudiments of Honour, Vol. 1. p. 173, &c.* See also his Trial in *Rushw. Collect.*

Madness of those seditious Men furiously raging against Church and State, are now to be offered up as Sacrifices to their outrageous Violence, lest their Prince, whom the Rebels had devoted to Destruction, should receive any Counsel from them in his arduous Affairs, or any Consolation in his Adversity. After this the Faction rave with the greatest Impudence against the King himself, discharge whole Loads of Scandal upon his sacred Head, and in their infamous Libels, called Remonstrances, stuff'd with all sorts of Lies, and published in Print, expose to the common People's Hatred, a Prince above all Encomiums the best in the World, and trample the Royal Authority under their Feet: Nor content with this they raise Forces against his Majesty from all Quarters, and charge him in the Field Sword in Hand: They make themselves Masters of his Castles and Forts, seize upon his Fleet, and plunder his Exchequer. And now to make all possible Opposition against a Rebellion that ravaged with so much Fury, was the Duty of all good Subjects, who had a just Regard for their antient Constitution, for the best of Kings, for the Religion of their Ancestors, and for all their

sacred and civil Interests. Among these Mr. *Barwick* resolved not to perform his Duty by Halves. And first in concert with the most considerable of the King's Friends in the University, he took Care, for his Majesty's Support, to transmit to him what littleⁿ Money could be raised in the several Colleges,

ⁿ What the Sum was which the University was able to send his Majesty, I do not find; but the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, (which gives the best Account of this Matter I have met with) modestly calls it, a *small and inconsiderable Sum of Money*; and says, that the Occasion of their *collecting out of their Poverty, and sending their Sovereign that small Pittance*, was a Letter of his Majesty's to their Vice-Chancellor (then Dr. *Richard Holdsworth* Master of *Emanuel* College) *acquainting the University with his extream Want*. The Date of that Letter appears, as well as the particular Sum which *St. John's* College contributed towards that Supply, from an original Receipt preserved in a little Box among the Archives in that College Treasury, and communicated to me by my very worthy and learned Friend Mr. *Baker*, in these Words.

July 2^d, 1642.

Received the Day and Year above written of *William Beale* Doctor in Divinity, Master of *St. John's* College in the University of *Cambridge* for the King's Use, (according to the Intendment and Direction of his Majesty's Letters of the 29th of *June* last to the Vice-Chancellor of the said University) the Sum of one hundred and fifty Pounds. I say received from the Treasury of the said College, by me

John Poley.

This *John Poley* was Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, and one of the Proctors that Year, and appears to have been employed and entrusted by the King in this Business of the Money, as well as in that of the Plate afterwards, not only from this Receipt, and another that will be mentioned presently, but also from Leave
given

Colleges, out of their moderate Incomes, and what Plate had been at any Time bestowed upon them for the Use of each

C 4 Society

given him by the University to execute the Office of Proctor by a Deputy, on account of his being employed in the King's Business, and this by a Grace of October 10, 1642. extant in the University Register among the *Gratia concessa*, and communicated to me by the same learned Hand.

• The University, upon the King's Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of June 29. just now mentioned, having contributed a *small Pittance of Money to their Sovereign's extream Necessity*, his Majesty was apprehensive, that *this Testimony, not only of Loyalty to him as their King, and Gratitude as their most gracious and bountiful Protector and Benefactor, but also of Charity to him as a Christian then in extream Want and Necessity*, would not fail to bring a Storm upon them from the Rebels, whom a less Booty than that of the University Plate had tempted to plunder in other Places, and therefore of his Care and Tenderness offered to secure that Treasure, if they were content to deposite it in his Hands, and for that end wrote another Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, with Directions, to take an exact Survey of it, not only for the Weight, but also of the Form of every Piece together with the Names, Arms, and Mottoes of the respective Donors, that if perhaps his Majesty could not preserve it entire as it was, he might restore it hereafter in the same Weight and Form, and with the same Marks, all which he graciously insured upon his Royal Word. This Account we have of this Matter in the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, p. 2, 3, 4. But neither is there any Copy of this Letter on the Vice-Chancellor's Book, nor do I find any Account of the Date of it, or of what Plate was sent in the whole: But in the Treasury of St. John's College, together with the Receipt of one hundred and fifty Pounds above-mentioned, is preserved a most exact and particular Account of what Plate that College delivered in for his Majesty's Use, with the Weight, Form and Names of the chief Benefactors, as directed by the King's Letter: In Honour to the College, of which I was many Years an unworthy Member, and for the Reader's Satisfaction, I shall here subjoin that Account, as it was transmitted to me by the same learned Friend.

Society, by the Bounty of their Benefactors. But this could not be effected without first outwitting *Cromwell*, who had been appriz'd

Agreed by the Master and Seniors *August 8, 1642.* that these pieces of Plate underwritten should be sent to the King's Majesty, and deposited in his Hands for the Security thereof, and Service of his Majesty, according to the Tenor of his Majesty's late Letters, written to the Vice-Chancellor, and published to the University.

	Unc.
Pots with two Ears, <i>Clippesley, Crem, Theodore Beacon,</i> <i>John Lucat, Thomas Wentworth, &c.</i> Number 22. Weight	} 559 $\frac{3}{4}$
Tankards, <i>Frances Lord Willoughby of Parham, Thomas</i> <i>Bourchier, Thomas Fairfax, &c.</i> Number 17. Weight	} 325
Standing Pieces and other Boules, <i>Dr. Guin, Val. Carey</i> <i>Bishop of Exeter, John Lord Rochford, Algernoon</i> <i>Lord Percy, Sir Dudley North, John and Henry Mayn-</i> <i>ard, John Howland, &c.</i> Number 41. Weight	} 907 $\frac{3}{4}$
Beakers, <i>Richard Ashton, &c.</i> Number 7. Weight	} 82
Salts, <i>Lord Ross, William Platt, John Lowther, &c.</i> Num- ber 6. Weight	} 83
A Bason in Ewre having the Col. Arms, and twelve Names upon it, Weight	} 108 $\frac{1}{2}$
<hr/>	
The Weight of the aforesaid Particulars, according to Grocers Weight is	} 2065 $\frac{1}{2}$

Aug. 8th 1642.

I do acknowledge, that there has been delivered unto me in the Name and Behalf of the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of *St. John's College in Cambridge* two Fir Boxes, marked with these three Letters *S. J. C.* containing in them all the several pieces of Plate abovewritten, which said Plate weigheth, as appears by the Particulars, ~~2065~~ 2065 Ounces $\frac{1}{2}$ (it should be 2065 Ounces $\frac{3}{4}$) more or less, which they depolite into the King's Hands for the Security thereof, and his Majesty's Service, according

appriz'd of their Design by some of the Townsmen of *Cambridge* (by whose Interest he had been chosen Member of Parliament for that Town) and with a disorderly Band of Peasants on Foot, lay in wait for the rich Booty at a Place called *Lowler Hedges*, betwixt *Cambridge* and *Huntington*. But Mr. *Barwick* and some other select Persons of the University, to whose Care and Prudence the Management of this important Affair was committed, having got Intelligence of *Cromwell's* Way-laying them, send away the Royal Supply through By-Roads, convoy'd by a small Party of Horse, that very Night in which *Cromwell* with his Foot beset the common Road, or else the Spoil had the next Morning certainly fallen into the Enemy's Hands. He that was made choice of to conduct this Expedition,

cording to the Tenor of his Majesty's Letters, written and directed to the Vice-Chancellor of the University.

John Poley.

Most probably *Thomas Wentworth* and *Thomas Fairfax* mentioned among the Benefactors, were afterwards the Earl of *Strafford* and General *Fairfax*, both of this College. And *William Platt*, the Founder of the Fellowships and Scholarships called by his Name: The College still preserves in a Bowl or Cup, a Memorial of the Earl of *Strafford*.

WAS

was the Reverend Mr. ° *Barnaby Oley*, a Man of great Prudence, and very well acquainted with all the By-Ways, through which they were to pass. He was President of *Clare-Hall*; and none more proper to be the Messenger of the University's Duty and Affection to their most gracious Sovereign and dearest Country: For I question whether *Cambridge* ever bred a Person of more Learning, accompanied with so great Modesty, and such an exemplary Holiness of Life. Under the Protection of God's good Providence he arrived safe at *Nottingham*, where he had the Honour to lay at his Majesty's Feet this small Testimony and Earnest of

° He was Vicar of *Great Gransden* in *Huntingtonshire* fifty three Years, and a considerable Benefactor to that Parish, as appears from an Inscription in that Church. After suffering much by the Rebellion, he was in 1660 restored to his Fellowship and Vicarage, and Sept. 4th that Year install'd Prebendary of *Worcester*: In 1679 he was promoted to the Arch-deaconry of *Ely*, which Dignity he afterwards voluntarily resign'd, in his great Humility not thinking himself sufficient to discharge the Duty of it; which corrects a Mistake of Mr. *Wood's*, (*Fast. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 850. Edit. 1.*) that Dr. *Saywell* succeeded in the Arch-deaconry on Mr. *Oley's* decease; for it was on his Resignation. He died Feb. 20, 1685-6. not (as Dr. *Walker* thinks) about the Year 1684. (*Suff. of the Clergy, P. 2. p. 142.*) where you have a more particular Account of his Sufferings and Benefactions.

the University's Loyalty at that very Time, when the Royal Standard^o was set up in the Castle there, summoning the King's good Subjects from all Parts to the Performance of their Faith and true Allegiance.

These Things were transacted at that Time, when that incomparable Prince too justly complain'd ^p, *that his Rebel Subjects had*

^o This heroick Action was undertaken at least *about the beginning of August 1642. before either his Majesty's Standard was erected, or his Proclamation issued out to that end, as is observ'd, (Querel. Cantabr. p. 4.) and that yet many had suffered for it, as Fomenters of the War, not then begun on the King's side, viz. not when the University endeavoured to convey away to his Majesty, some part of their Plate. (Id. ibid.) nor when they actually sent it, which it seems was not till some Days after, probably through their Apprehension of Danger from Cromwell, who (we are told id. ibid.) within a few Days after was sent down by his Masters above, at the Invitation of his Masters below, to gather what Strength he could, to stop all Passages, that no Plate might be sent. I suppose this was not long doing; however what these Loyalists were endeavouring about the beginning of August, before Notice could be given of it above, and Cromwell sent down to prevent it, and Strength gathered for that Purpose, they were not able to effect till towards the end of that Month, viz. on the 25th, the Day the Royal Standard was set up at Nottingham.*

^p Most probably this Complaint was made in those *Royal Letters of June the 29th abovementioned, by which (we are told Querel. Cantabr. p. 3.) his sacred Majesty daigned to acquaint his poor University with his strange Wants, even of Sustenance for his very Household: A Letter that made such an Impression on those his loyal Subjects, that (as it immediately follows in the same Author) their Hearts burned within them, to hear that the King their living Founder should almost starve, when they had Bread on their Table;*

had not left him out of his Revenues enough to preserve him from Starving. This glorious Undertaking of the University, to send some Relief to the King, not long since incircled with the Rays of Majesty, but now almost ready to perish for Want, exceedingly galled the Arch-Rebel *Cromwell*, and the rest of the Parliament of that Faction, who would have destroyed the King either by Sword or Famine, though he had deserv'd more of them all, than any of his Royal Ancestors; and they had actually engaged their Allegiance to him by more than one Oath: And this that very King, whose Majesty they most solemnly undertook to

Table; by which it is plain they understood his Majesty to be then in extrem *Want and Necessity*, as they express'd it afterwards. But there being no Copy of that Letter on the Vice-Chancellor's Book, we cannot say in what particular Terms this too just Complaint of his Majesty was therein express'd, though most probably it was in those of our Author, which are not more pathetick and affecting, than another Complaint of the same Nature, mentioned by Mr. *Symmonds* to have been made by this persecuted Prince; when having travelled from *Shrewsbury* to *Wrexham* in *Denbighshire*, and being to return the same Night, his Majesty dismiss'd the Gentry (desiring his Stay) with these Words: "Gentlemen, go you and take your Rests; for you have Homes and Houses to go to, and Beds of your own to lodge in, and God grant you may long enjoy them; but I am depriv'd of those Comforts: I must intend my present Affairs, and return this Night to the Place from whence I came." *Parallel between the Sufferings of our Saviour and our Sovereign, at the end of his Vindication of King Charles*, p. 242.

exalt

exalt and render far more glorious over all the World, than it had ever yet been : Thus imposing upon the ignorant Multitude with their holy Frauds and Delusions, lest they should not run headlong enough, not only upon their own Ruin, but upon the Destruction of the best of Kings.

For this Reason *Cromwell*, inferior to none in watching and employing all Opportunities to ruin his Country, when he perceiv'd himself over-reach'd by the Sagacity of the *Cambridge* Gentlemen, began to be extremely exasperated and enraged, and resolved to make the University pay dearly for daring to perform this Duty to their distressed Sovereign ; for out of the seven ⁹ *associated Counties* (as they were called) which partly by Fraud and fair Words he had enticed, and partly by Terror and Force he had compelled into this wicked Confederacy, he mustered up a Pack of most insolent Wretches, and quartered them upon *Cambridge*, as their chief Garrison and Rendezvous ; subjugating to the Controul of

⁹ viz. Those of *Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon*, and (by a new Addition) *Lincoln. Clarend. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 322. Edit. 8^{vo}.*

every pitiful common Soldier, all the best and most learned Men in the University, even those venerable Persons already sinking beneath the Weight of their many Years, as much as under the Oppression of this new Tyranny. Being thus attended with a Company of hair-brain'd mad Fellows, not unworthy of their Leader, he commits the utmost Barbarities against the several Colleges, breaks open their Gates in the dead Time of the Night, and lets in Bands of armed Ruffians, prepared to murder the whole Society at one Blow, upon the least Signal that should be given them by their mad Commander: They take Possession as they please of every private Chamber: They pull down the Walls, and burn all the Wood Work of the Libraries, and making Plunder of the Books, sell them for a tenth Part of their Value. The Groves, and Arbours, and Hedges in the publick College-Walks they cut down like so many Copses design'd for no other Use; and securing with Guards and broken Gates all the Passages out of the Town, they shut up within it, as in a larger Prison, all the Members of the University, except those (not a few) whom they more closely con-

fin'd in Dungeons, lest they should have any Benefit of the open Air, infected as it was but too much with the Stench and Vermine of so many nasty Soldiers. All the Heads of Houses, together with the Vice-Chancellor, solemnly assembled in Consistory, they detain'd their Prisoners till Midnight, though most of them above sixty Years of Age, and that in very cold Weather; because they would not give their Votes in their Favour, but most expressly and unanimously voted against them, resolv'd rather to perish with Hunger and Cold, than give the least Countenance to their Rebellion; and at last, as it were with one Blow to destroy the whole University, they banish from its Senate, and from their several Colleges the venerable Professors of Divinity and Law, famous
for

* Dr. Holdsworth abovementioned. See *Querel. Cantab.* p. 10.

† Dr. Samuel Collins, D. D. Provost of King's-College, and *Regius Professor* of Divinity. Dr. Samuel Ward, D. D. Master of *Sidney Sussex* College, and *Lady Margaret's* Professor of Divinity. Dr. Thomas Goad, LL. D. Fellow of King's College, was undoubtedly Law Professor at the Time of the Ejectments: But Mr. Baker much doubts, whether he also was ejected, because he finds him appointed one of the Feoffees in Trust for the University April 23, 1646. and again July 24. the same Year, and February 17. 1652. *Regr. Acad.* He also finds this mention of
him

for their Learning over all the World, together with the Vice-Chancellor and about two hundred more of their most considerable and learned Men, and put Block-heads for the most Part, and senseless Scoundrels in their Places. They likewise turn out of the University many other extraordinary Persons of the same Order, whom their cruel Usage of these had not been able, as they vainly hoped, to frighten from their Duty to God and the King, and that after they had plunder'd them of every Thing except their good Conscience. But Mr. *Barwick*, no inconsiderable Part of this Tragedy, together with others of the University, groaning under the same Yoak of Tyranny, and each taking a particular Account of the Sufferings of his own College, gave a distinct Narrative of all these Barbarities, and under

him in a Manuscript Catalogue of Archbishop *Tenison's*, taken betwixt the Years 1650, and 1660. *Thomas Goad*, LL. D. 1630. *Legis Civilis publicus Acad. Professor etiamnum vivit.*

Dr. *William Beale* Master of *St. John's* College. Dr. *Edward Martin* Provost of *Queen's* College, and Dr. *Richard Sterne*, Master of *Jesus* College, all three carried Prisoners to *London* by *Cromwell* immediately after; and in Revenge for his being disappointed of the University Plate, which he Way-lay'd in its Passage to the King, kept there close confin'd in the Tower and other Prisons some Years, particularly in the noisome Hold of a Ship. (*Querel. Cantabr.* p. 5, 6. at the end of which you have a List of the Heads, Fellows, &c. ejected, plunder'd, &c.)

the Title of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, or the *University of Cambridge's Complaint*, got it printed by the Care of Mr. *Richard^u Royston* a Bookseller of *London*, who did great Service to his King and Country, by printing and dispersing in the most difficult Times, Books written in Defence of the Royal Cause. And indeed, before this *Complaint* of the Destruction of the University, breath'd out as her last dying Groans, and sent Abroad among the People, Mr. *Barwick* had also published another Work, little in Bulk, but of great Learning, written by him, and some other very learned *Cantabrigians*, and fortified with irrefragable Arguments against that wicked Association, which the Rebels sty'd the *National Covenant*, and intitled^w *Certain Disquisitions*, &c. But the

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^u There is this Account of him on his Grave-Stone, on the South Side of the Chancel at *Christ Church* in *London*. Here lyeth interr'd the Body of *Richard Royston*, Esq; Citizen of *London*, and Bookseller to three Kings, who died in the 86th Year of his Age, and in the Year of our Lord 1626. See the Testimony given of his Loyalty, and what he did and suffered for the Crown, in the Patent granted him by King *Charles* the Second, Nov. 29, 1660. for printing the Works of his Royal Father.

^w The whole Title of this Tract, as published at *Oxford*, 1644. runs thus.

Faction, who had too much Interest in preventing the Publication of this Piece, having got Intelligence thereof, sent their Messengers

Certain Disquisitions and Considerations representing to the Conscience the Unlawfulness of the Oath, intituled, A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, &c. As also the Insufficiency of the Arguments used in the Exhortation for taking the said Covenant. Published by Command. Oxford 1644. It contains forty nine Pages in Quarto, besides the Printer's Postscript to the Reader, in these Words following.

" Gentle Reader, A Copy of the foregoing Disquisitions accidentally coming to the Hands of some, at whose Command I am, was thought fit to be published, though without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Authors. The Fitness of the Subject, the Worth of the Work, and a peculiar relation to the Authors (if I Mistake them not) may be a sufficient Motive both for their Command, and my Undertaking. Consider it seriously, and if thou art not yet engaged in the Covenant, this will confirm thee in thy Resolution against it: If thou art, this by the Assistance of God's Grace may bring thee to a timely Repentance. I cannot but admonish thee this one Thing, *viz.* That I have gone exactly according to the Copy, even in those Phrases, which resemble the *Genius* of the Place where it was composed, more than where it is published; only the Faults which have escaped, I desire may be imputed to me, and those many Transcribers, whose Hands it passed, before it could come to mine.

This Postscript would induce one to imagine, that these *Disquisitions* were never printed before, either at *Cambridge* or *London*, notwithstanding what is here said by our Author, especially since Mr. *Gunning*, in whose Hands the Copy probably was, was in all likelihood at *Oxford* when the Book was printed. Mr. *Wood* says he went thither in the beginning of the Year 1644. if not before. *Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 577.* But we have a better Authority for this even than Mr. *Wood's*; for in a Journal of Bishop *Gunning's* Life (amongst his Papers) taken or finish'd when he was Bishop of *Chichester*, and written in a different Hand from his, but corrected with his own Hand (as my learned Friend Mr. *Baker* who obliged me with this Account assures

sengers unexpectedly to the Press, and seizing upon the Impression, committed it immediately to the Flames; yet some few Co-

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pies

assures me) there is the following Passage. In the Year 1643. May 1. I was expelled the University of *Cambridge* for preaching a Sermon in *St. Mary's* against the Covenant, as well as for the refusing the Covenant. In the same Year I went with my Friend Mr. *Isaac Barrow* to *Oxford*, where I continued to the Year 1646; yet Dr. *Gower* in his Sermons on the Death of Bishop *Gunning*, having mentioned the Occasion of this Work (a Particular which I have met no where else, but in *Wood*, who seems to have taken it from him) viz. Mr. *Gunning's* urging the University vehemently and convincingly (in a Sermon preach'd before them at *St. Mary's*) to publish a formal Protestation against the rebellious League, adds, that the good Work was thereupon presently begun and soon finish'd; but could not be published in the Name of the whole Corporation, and consequently not at *Cambridge*, because one Man, who alone could hinder it, would not permit it to be done.—— But however printed it was, though most of the Impression was seiz'd at *London*, before it could get Abroad. *Serm.* p. 17. An Account which agrees so exactly with this of our Author, that I should suspect it was taken from hence, only that his Manuscript of this Life was not yet lodg'd in the Library of *St. John's* College: Besides that one Particular of it, that of Mr. *Gunning's* pressing the University to publish such a Protestation, being not taken Notice of by Dr. *Barwick*, must be owing to some other Information. I should therefore conclude, he had it from Bishop *Gunning* himself, only that as his Lordship in the Passage of his Journal abovementioned, though he takes Notice of his Sermon in *St. Mary's* against the Covenant (most probably the same which Dr. *Gower* speaks of,) and that he was expell'd for preaching it, yet says nothing of his having therein urged the University to publish any Protestation against the League: So neither there, nor in any other part of that Journal, is there any mention of these *Certain Disquisitions*, supposed to be drawn up for that Protestation. But there is an Objection against this Account of Dr. *Gower's*, which is of equal Force also against our Author's, and it is this; that Dr. *Brownrigg*, the one Man meant by the former, and the

venerable

pies of it, privately conceal'd by the Book-sellers, are still extant. They who joined in the writing of this Paper, besides Mr. Barwick, and Mr. William^x Lacy of St. John's College, were Mr. Isaac^y Barrow
of

venerable Person spoke of by the latter, as he that hindered the Publication of this Piece in the Name of the University, and as he alone who could hinder it, (viz. as Dr. Barwick says, in quality of Vice-Chancellor that Year) was not chosen Vice-Chancellor till November 1643. above six Months after Mr. Gunning was expell'd the University for preaching that Sermon, which is said to have perswaded and occasioned these *Disquisitions*, and the Piece to have been *presently begun and soon finished* thereupon. It is possible indeed he might have acted as Deputy Vice-Chancellor, while Dr. Holdsworth the Vice-Chancellor was in Durance; but that is what does not appear. This again may deserve a Place in the *Chronological Observations* promised on this Work.

^x Born at Beverley in Yorkshire, admitted Fellow of the College, April 5, 1636. and at this Time I suppose Bachelor of Divinity; for he is mentioned as such in the List of the ejected Fellows of St. John's, subjoined to *Querela Cantabrigiensis*. He was probably admitted in that College before the Year 1629. because his Admission is not upon the College Register, which begins not till that Year: But in the University Register he is mentioned as Bachelor of Arts, Anno 1632, and Master of Arts, Anno 1636. After his Ejection he went into the King's Army, and became Chaplain to Prince Rupert: After the Restoration he proceeded Dr. of Divinity, but not immediately; for in my Lord Manchester's Letter to the Master and Fellows of St. John's for restoring him to his Fellowship, dated August 27, 1660. (which was executed November 2. the very Day it was received) he is only stiled B. D. By some of the Savile Family he was prefer'd to the rich Living of Thornhill, in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, where he died. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 149.*

^y Son of Isaac Barrow of Spiney Abbey in Cambridgeshire, Esq; admitted of this House July 6, 1629. chosen Scholar February 19, 1630. Library Keeper March 24, 1631. and relinquished both
those

of Peter-House ; Mr. Seth ² Ward of Sidney
 D 3 College ;

those Places, February 28, 1634. (Regr. Coll. S. Petri Cantabr.)
 December 20, 1641, he was instituted into the Vicaridge of
Hinton in *Cambridgeshire* on the College Presentation. (Regr.
Eliens.) Being ejected out of his Fellowship of that House by
 the Earl of *Manchester*, January 13, 1644, he retired to *Oxford*,
 where Dr. *Pink* Warden of *New College* chose him one of the
 Chaplains of that House, on which Place he subsisted till the
 Surrender of that Garrison, and then was forced to shift for
 himself. Upon the Restoration he was instituted into the Rec-
 tory of *Downham* in *Cambridgeshire*, August 27, 1660. on the
 College Presentation, being then Dr. of Divinity, and quitted
 the Vicaridge of *Hinton* (Regr. *Elien.*) and I suppose it was about
 the same Time that he was made Fellow of *Eaton College*. A-
 pril 11, 1663. on the Death of Dr. *Hale*, he with his Tutor
 Dr. *Skippen*, were by the Fellows of *Peter-House* nominated to
 the Mastership of that College, but the Bishop, as Visitor, chose
 Dr. *Beaumont*. (Regr. Coll. S. Petr.) June 26, 1663, he resign'd the
 Rectory of *Downham*, (Regr. *Elien.*) and July fifth following
 (not as Dr. *Walker* says in 1662) he was consecrated Bishop of
 the Isle of *Man*, and next Year Governor of that Isle, whence he
 was translated to the See of *St. Asaph*, March 21, 1669. and
 held the former in *Commendam* with it, till October 1671. He
 died Anno 1680. and was interr'd in his own Cathedral. See
 an Account of his great Charities and good Works, particularly
 in both those Dioceses. *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 658.*
 670. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 152.*

² Son of an Attorney of good Report in *Buntingsford* in *Hert-
 fordshire*, where he was born in April 1617. From Servitor to
 Dr. *Ward* Master of *Sidney College* he became Fellow, and was
 at that Time Master of Arts: After his Ejection he liv'd with
Ralph Freeman of *Aspden* in *Hertfordshire*, Esq; till the end of the
 Civil War, when he became Chaplain to *Thomas* Lord *Wenman* of
Thame Park in *Oxfordshire*. In 1649. changing his loyal Prin-
 ciples, he was chosen Astronomy Professor of *Oxford*, in the Place
 of Mr. *John Greaves* then ejected, but by his Approbation, and
 then proceeded Master of Arts there, and took the Engagement. In
 1654. he proceeded Dr. of Divinity. in 1656. Bishop *Brown-
 rigg*, the silenced Bishop of *Exeter*, made him Chantor of that
 Church: Next Year he was chosen Principal of *Jesus College*

College; Mr. *Edmund*^a *Baldero*, and Mr.
William

in *Oxford*, but put by in favour of one *Howel*, a Creature of *Oliver's*. In 1659. by *Dr. Ralph Bathurst's* Interest he was elected President of *Trinity College* there, but being soon turn'd out by the right Owner, *Dr. Henry Potter*, he went to *London*, and upon *Dr. Reynolds's* Advancement to the See of *Norwich*, succeeded him in the Vicaridge of *St. Lawrence Jewry*, and in the same Year 1660. was install'd Chantor of *Exeter*, of which Church he soon after became Dean, and in the Year 1662. Bishop; and from thence was translated to *Salisbury*, September 12, 1667, November 25, 1671. he was made Chancellor of the most noble Order of the Garter, by the Restitution of that Office to that See, after it had been in lay Hands about a 154. Years: He died *January 6*, 1688. and was interr'd in that Cathedral. See an Account of his great Charities and good Works, as well as of his Writings, in *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 627, & seqq.* *Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 159.*

^a A Native of *St. Edmund's-Bury* in *Suffolk*, Fellow of *Pembroke Hall*, and most probably ejected, though not in the Catalogue of ejected Fellows, subjoin'd to *Querela Cantabrigiensis*; for 'tis certain the Earl of *Manchester* tendered him the Covenant, and encouraged him to offer what Scruples he had against it, to be resolv'd by his Lordship's Chaplain then present, who refusing to resolve them, Mr. *Baldero* was sent up Prisoner to *London* for proposing them, and detained there under a long and chargeable Confinement. *Querel. Cantabr. p. 25, 26.* In a Manuscript History of *Fesus College* in *Cambridge*, he is said to have been formerly Preacher of *St. Lawrence* in *Ipswich*, in *Suffolk*, Rector of *Harksted* in the same County, and promoted to the Mastership of that College, *April 25*, 1663. by Bishop *Wren*, whose Chaplain he was, and who having formerly collated him to the Rectory of *Westerfield* in *Suffolk*, afterwards instituted him into that of *Glensford* in the same County, and into that of *Snaywell* in *Cambridgeshire*, in *Norwich* Diocese, on which he relinquish'd *Harksted*. He is there also said to have done and suffered much for King *Charles* the First and Second, both in *England* and in *Scotland*, under the great Marquess of *Montrose*: He commenc'd Dr. of Divinity, I suppose, immediately after the Restoration, was Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* in the Years 1668 and 1674. died on the fifth of *July* 1679. in the seventy
second

William ^b Quarles of Pembroke Hall, and that incomparable Disputant against the Schismatics Mr. Peter ^c Gunning of Clare-Hall,

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second Year of his Age, as appears from the Inscription on his Monument in the Choir of *Jesus* College Chapel. See Dr. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 162.

^b One of the ejected Fellows of this Hall and Master of Arts, as appears from the Catalogue at the end of *Querel. Cantabr.* most probably the same that was Proctor 1663. and some Time President of that Hall, and a great Benefactor thereto. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 154.

^c Son of *Peter Gunning*, Minister of *How* in *Kent*, born there on the 11th, and baptiz'd on the 16th of *January* 1613. bred up in the Free-School of *Canterbury*, and at fifteen Years of Age admitted in *Clare-Hall*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Barnabas Oley* abovementioned, p. 26. soon chosen Fellow of that House; and when Master of Arts prefer'd to the Cure of *Little St. Mary's* in *Cambridge*, by the Master and Fellows of *Peter House*. After the Ejectment, retiring to *Oxford* with his Friend Mr. *Barrow* (as was mentioned above p. 35. Note ^w) with him he was chosen Chaplain of *New College* by the Warden Dr. *Pink*. In *July* 1644. he was incorporated Master of Arts of that University, and about the same Time became Curate to Mr. *Jasper Mayne* at *Cassington* near *Oxford*, which Cure he supplied about two Years (suffering many Abuses from the Rebel Soldiers) still officiating at *New College*, and also preaching often before the King and Parliament sitting at *Oxford*; for which Service he was made Bachelor of Divinity, the Day before the Garrison of *Oxford* surrendred to the Parliament: After that he was Tutor to *Christopher*, afterwards Lord *Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Compton*; then he became Chaplain to Sir *Robert Shirley*, Father of *Robert*, afterwards Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, who settled a hundred Pound a Year on him for his Life. On Sir *Robert's* dying in the Tower, a Prisoner for his Loyalty, he held a Congregation in the Chapel of *Exeter House* in the *Strand*, preaching and performing Divine Service, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, where he had great Numbers flock'd to hear him, and was often sent for and reprov'd by *Cromwell* on that Account. At the Restoration he took Possession

Hall, each of whom undertook his particular Share of this wicked Covenant to confute, and bringing his Part of the Work to Mr. *Gunning's* Chamber, there they a^l conferr'd and agreed upon the whole.

Nor would the rest of the University have doubted to give their publick Approbation to this Writing, by confirming it in a general Congregation of their whole Body, but

session of the Rectories of *Cotesmore* in *Rutland*, and *Stoke Brewen* in *Northamptonshire*, to which he had long before a Title; He was also made Prebendary of *Canterbury*, and had been prefer'd to the Vicaridge of *St. Martin's*, but that it was thought more for the Publick Service to fix him for a while at *Cambridge*, where having commenc'd Dr. of Divinity, he was made Master of *Corpus-Christi*, and soon after of *St. John's* College, and first *Lady Margaret's*, and then *Regius* Professor of Divinity, on Dr. *Tuckney's* removal from that Chair, and *St. John's* Mastership; to whom though legally ejected from both, he allowed a hundred Pounds a Year for his Life. *March 6, 1669.* he was made Bishop of *Chichester* on the Death of Dr. *King*; and upon that of Bishop *Laney, March 4, 1674.* was thence translated to *Ely*: In all his Promotions first thought of by his Prince or Patron, without the least Application from himself. He died *July 6, 1684.* in the seventy first Year of his Age, and was interr'd in his own Cathedral: He left his Library, which was a very valuable one, to *St. John's* College in *Cambridge*, and what remained at his Death, after his great Endowments and numerous Charities of all sorts in his Life Time, he by his last Will directed should be laid out for the Augmentation of poor Vicaridges. See a farther Account of him in Dr. *Gower's* two Sermons preach'd on Occasion of his Death, and in Dr. *Fenkins's* Lapidary Verses prefix'd to those Sermons. See also *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 577, 578.* and Dr. *Walker's* *Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 142.*

that

that they were hinder'd by that venerable Person, who had before, as was mentioned above (p. 16.) corrupted a very hopeful Youth, and dear Pupil of Mr. *Barwick's*, to the manifest Injury both of the young Scholar and his Tutor, and the Offence of every good Man, meddling where he had nothing to do; and who at this Time presiding over the University as ^u Vice-Chancellor, would permit nothing of the Nature of this Writing to be propos'd in the Regent-House, whether (as many thought) that he was no Friend to these *Arminians* (as the Compilers of that Tract were calumniously stiled, though not the least addicted to any Sect whatever) or rather (as he himself gave out) that he apprehended, such a Step might bring upon the University what the Rebels at that Time threatned to some of their greatest Men and most learned Heads (such as Dr. *William*^x *Beale*, Dr. *Edward*^x *Martin*, and Dr. *Richard*^x *Stern*) Transportation into the Isles of *America*, or even to the barbarous Turks: For these great Men,

^u See Note ^w p. 36.

^x See Note ^t p. 32.

and several other very eminent Divines were kept close Prisoners in a ^y Ship on the *Thames*, under the Hatches, almost killed with Stench, Hunger, and Watching, and treated by the senseless Mariners with more Insolence, than if they had been the vilest Slaves, or had been confin'd there for some infamous Robbery or Murther. Nay one^z *Rigby*, a Scoundrel of the very Dregs of the Parliament Rebels, did at that Time expose these venerable Persons to sale, and would actually have sold them for Slaves, if any one would have bought them. And indeed the Reverend Vice-Chancellor had but too much Reason to be concern'd for the pub-

^y The Name of the Ship was the *Prosperous Sayle*, or the *Prosperous Saylor*. It lay before *Wapping*, where no less than eighty Prisoners of Quality were crowded under the Hatches, without so much as Straw to lye on, though the Decks so low, they could not stand upright. The three Masters of Colleges abovementioned, after almost a Year's Imprisonment in the Tower, and in the Lord *Petre's* House, were shut up here by Order of the Mock Parliament on *Friday August 11, 1643*. *Mercur. Rustic.* xii. p. 115, 116.

^z *Alexander Rigby* (styled) *the Lawyer*, Querel. Cantabr. p. 6. and a beloved Member (I suppose of the Long Parliament) *Dugd. Short View*, ch. xlv. p. 577. where he is said to have moved twice, that those Lords and Gentlemen which were Prisoners (for no Cause, but being *Malignants*, as they term'd them) should be sold as Slaves to *Argiere*, or sent to the new Plantations in the *West-Indies*, because he had contracted with two Merchants for that Purpose.

lick Buildings of the University, and even for the Lives of its Members, both at that Time in no little Danger from a wicked Race of Men, or rather of Beasts in Mens Shape. Yet these generous Souls were ashamed of the old Man's Timorousness, which in their Opinion was far more than there was Occasion for, though afterwards he behaved himself like a good Subject. And it increas'd their Concern for his Want of Courage, that after a few Years the University of *Oxford*, by a publick Decree of their Senate, confirm'd a like ^a Paper of very weighty Reasons drawn up against the same unrighteous Covenant. A very heroick Act this indeed, and that in a Conjunction of Time not much different from this of their Sister University; only that these most violent Reformers began then to act with a little more Temper, and to be mad under some Rule, no longer contriving how to destroy whatever belonged ei-

^a Printed in the Year 1647. under this Title, *Reasons of the present Judgment of the University of Oxford concerning the solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, the Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship, approved by general Consent in a full Convocation, June 1, 1647. and presented to Consideration, 4^{to}, containing 35 Pages,*

ther to the University in general, or to each Member thereof in particular; but to preserve it for themselves, that there might be something left for them to be Masters of, when at last they should possess themselves of all the three Kingdoms. Yet they pursued with equal Hatred at least, if not with equal Madness, all in general, whether *Cambrigiens* or *Oxonians*, who paid an equal Duty to their most excellent Prince, and Regard to our antient Constitution, and with an equal Degree of Piety and Affection, were not afraid to assert the Cause of the Church of *England*, the purest Part of the Catholick Church, according to the different Conjunction of Time, with the Loss of their Liberty, or even the Effusion of their Blood, but certainly with the inevitable Forfeiture of their Estates. And however it happened, that the University of *Cambridge* had the Precedence in this most noble Conflict, as the Posture of Affairs and Situation of the Enemy gave them Occasion to fall upon and oppress her first, and her an Opportunity of shewing others an illustrious Example of forsaking all for Christ: Yet in this glorious Race she was followed with great Alacrity by her Sister *Oxford*,

Oxford, who if she had been called to it, would no doubt have been as ready to have led the Way. It is well known, that both Universities espoused the Cause of God and the King with the utmost Hazard of their Lives.

After this Vindication of the Royal Cause against the impious Pretences of the Rebellion had been drawn up at *Cambridge*, those excellent Persons who were the Authors of it, now divide their Endeavours for the Service of their Country. Most of them, with several others of the University, Men of great Learning and Piety, being turned out of their Colleges, repair'd to the Royal Camp, to do their distressed Prince what Service they could: But Mr. *Barwick*^b went to *London*, the chief Garison of the Enemy, and long conceal'd himself in that great City, as in a great Wood, sagacious and quick-sighted as the Rebels were to spy into all Places, according to the Custom of

^b This was probably towards the end of the Year 1643. for amongst the *Gratia concessa* of the University of *Cambridge*, Feb. 29, 1643. there is a Grant of their Letters Testimonial to him under their publick Seal which seem to have been taken out to secure his Character, and recommend him to the World. This was the Month before Ejectments began there.

those, who are meditating against the Government some dangerous Plot, and infamous beyond the Example of former Ages. In this rebellious City, where yet there lived many very honest Men, and hearty Favourers of the Royal Cause, he had the Management of the King's Affairs, and as a secret Spy, carried on a private Correspondence betwixt *London* and *Oxford*, where the King's Head Quarters were; on the one Hand communicating to his Majesty all the Designs and Endeavours of the Rebels, and conveying his Royal Orders and Commands on the other: For he was a Man of great Courage and Presence of Mind, as well as of extraordinary Prudence and Sagacity, little regarding the Hazard of his Life, which was in continual Danger, so that he could be of any Service to his afflicted Country, then almost ready to expire under the cruel Oppression of wicked Men. That he might carry on this Negotiation with more Safety and Convenience, he gets first into the Family of the Right Reverend Dr. *Morton* ^c Lord Bishop of *Durham*,
then

^c See a short Account of him in his Epitaph, drawn up by his Chaplain

then residing in *Durham* House in *London*, whose Chaplain he was, and who had a very great Affection for him to the Day of his Death.

Under that most excellent and holy Pre-
late, Qualities which procured him the
worſe Treatment from the Rebels, Mr.
Barwick very willingly undertook this Pro-
vince; becauſe together with his holy Func-
tion he was able to manage the King's Af-
fairs more covertly, and leſs liable to Suſ-
picion: Not that the Palace of this Biſhop
could be ſecure from the Eyes of the Re-
bels Emiſſaries, who were always watching
to do Miſchief to the Publick; ſeeing that
the Biſhop himſelf could have no Proteſti-
on againſt the Madneſs of thoſe Enthuſiaſts,
neither from his great Learning, nor from
his extraordinary Piety, nor from his vene-
rable grey Hairs; but becauſe in that ſpa-
cious Houſe he had an Opportunity of
more eaſily hiding whatever Cyphers he
had relating to the King's Buſineſs: And
alſo being very ſtudious of Chriſtian Sim-

Chaplain Mr. *Barwick*, published in the Sequel of this Life; alſo his
Funeral Sermon by the ſame Hand, with the Biſhop's Life pre-
fix'd to it, both dedicated to King *Charles* the Second.

plicity,

plicity, he was hence always furnished with a true as well as a convenient Answer (if he should be questioned by the Rebels, what Business he had in *London*) that he performed the Office of Chaplain to that most Reverend Prelate. For this was both then his firm Resolution, and what he afterwards always religiously observed, whenever he fell into the Enemy's Hands, either to answer all their Questions with the strictest Truth, or to make them no Answer at all; for he did not think it consistent with his Duty, if taken at any Time, to clear himself with fictitious and made Excuses, or do any Thing that should clash with the Sincerity of the Gospel, lest Christianity should suffer by his Means. He resolved rather with Silence to answer all their captious and ensnaring Questions, how much soever he might suffer by it, than hazard the least Damage to the Publick by an Answer not duly weighed.

After he had taken up his Lodging in *Durham* House, his next Business was, to insinuate himself into the Acquaintance and Affection of those, whom (as he was a Person of great Penetration) he knew to be in some Measure Favourers of such, as set themselves

themselves up for Reformers, but had not yet wholly imbib'd all their Madnes; or if they had, yet had not an utter Aversion to every Antidote against it: And they were such for the most Part, as far surpassing the rest of the Faction in Estate, or Honour, or Credit with the Party, the Rebel-Crowd were fond of owning and following as their Chiefs. Of this Number two of the most considerable were Sir *Thomas* ^b *Middleton*, a *Welch* Gentleman of great Estate and Interest in his Country, a Lieutenant General of much Renown under the Earl ^c of *Effex*, the General of the Rebellion,

^b Of *Chirk* Castle in *Denbighshire*.

^c *Robert*, the third and last Earl of the Family of *Devereux*, (named from *Evreux*, a Town of Note in *Normandy*) of which there were diverse Generations here in *England*, before they became Peers of this Realm, viz. from *Reginald*, Son of *Robert de Ebroy* (mentioned § *Steph.*) to Sir *John Devereux* the second Knight of the Family, who died 20 R. 2. and from his younger Brother *William Devereux* of *Bodynham* in the County of *Hereford*, Esq; to his Grandson Sir *Walter Devereux*, in 1 E. 4. advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Ferrers*, on his marrying the sole Daughter and Heir of *William Lord Ferrers* of *Chartley* in *Staffordshire*, and for his Fidelity to that Prince against King *Henry* the Sixth, and his Adherents. Taking Part afterwards with *Richard* the Third, he was slain with him in *Bosworth* Field. His Grandson *Walter*, Knight of the Garter, was made Viscount *Hereford* on the second of *February* 4 E. 6. And his Grandson *Walter*, (by Reason of his Descent from *Cecilie* Sister and Heir to *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Effex*) was
E. created

lion, and Colonel *Roger Pope*, the Son in Law^d of *Mitton*, a strenuous Assertor of the Parliament Cause, both Members of the

created Earl of *Essex*, 4. May, 14 Eliz. being also Earl of *Ewe*, Earl Marshal of *Ireland*, Viscount *Hereford* and *Bourchier*, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Bourchier*, and *Lovian*, and Knight of the Garter. By the Advice of those who wanted to have him gone, being sent to quell *O'Neal's* Insurrection in *Ireland*, he died there of a Flux, September 22, 1576. griev'd that he was no better supported, nor without Suspicion of Poison. His Son Earl *Robert*, Queen *Elizabeth's* great Favourite, was beheaded in the Tower, February 25, 1600. and left our *Robert*, who was restored in Blood and Honour with his two Sisters, 1 Jac. and retiring into the *Palatinate*, disgusted at his first Wife's Behaviour towards him, was tainted there with some *Calvinistical* Principles, which (notwithstanding all King *Charles's* Favour to him, making him his Lieutenant General against the *Scots*, Anno 1639. and afterwards Lord Chamberlain of his Household) drew him from his Allegiance to that Prince, to accept of the Generalship of the Rebels in 1642. He died at *Essex House* in *London*, 1646. not without Suspicion of Poison from the Rebels, because he had fallen off from them, though they made a most magnificent Funeral for him. Sir *William Dugd. Bar. Tom. 2. p. 175, &c. British Compend. Vol. 1. p. 198, &c. Micro-chron. Sept. 14. and Oct. 1, 22. 1646.*

^d It is *Miltoni* in the Latin, which was not the Publisher's, but the Author's Mistake (first observed by a learned Prelate of that Country) for *Mitton* a Gentleman of an antient Family in *Shropshire*, most probably that active Officer in the Parliament Service, who together with Colonel *Langhorn*, by Correspondence with some Townsmen of *Shrewsbury*, and some of the Soldiers of the Garison (from whence too many were unhappily drawn out two or three Days before upon some Expedition) seiz'd upon that Town in the Night for the Parliament, and by the same Treachery enter'd and surpriz'd the Castle. *Clarend. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 593.* An Account of this Action was published by Colonel *Mitton* himself, in his Reply to Lieutenant Colonel *Reinkin's* Relation of the taking of *Shrewsbury*, in Justification of his Pretence to the Government of that Castle, as

surrendered

the Lower House. Sir *Thomas Middleton* afterwards, at the Head of a Loyal Party of *Welch* Gentlemen, did great Service to his oppressed Country, with the Loss of a plentiful Estate, and the Ruin of a very noble ^e Seat. But Colonel *Pope* was no sooner returned to his Duty to the King, but he died of the Plague that raged at that Time, to the very great Loss of his Country: For he was a Person of a generous Mind, and now at last began to be very well affected to the Royal Cause. When these two great Men had swerved from their Duty and Fidelity to the King, it was most probably Mr. *Barwick*, who brought them back to their Allegiance; and both having been admitted into the most secret Councils of the Rebels, he learnt many

surrendred to him, and not to *Mitton*; and in that Account there is mention of Lieutenant Colonel *Pope*, most probably his Son in Law here spoken of by my Author. Colonel *Mitton* also printed a Relation of another Action of his at *Elsemere* in *Shropshire*, *January* 12, 164*. in which he is said to have been then chosen High-Sheriff for that County. See him mentioned also, *Clarend. Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 143. *Dugdale's short View of the late Troubles*, ch. xviii. p. 188. (where probably the same Mistake is made of *Milton* for *Mitton*) and ch. xxi. p. 211. and ch. xxviii. p. 284. See also Sir *Edward Walker's* Brief Memoirs of his Majesty's Army, &c. An. 1645. *Hist. Collect.* p. 150. *Micro-chron.* Aug. 17. 1646.

^e *Chirk* Castle abovementioned, plunder'd and destroy'd by *Lambert*, after he had defeated Sir *George Booth*.

Things from them, which it was very much for his Majesty's Interest to know.

[It will not perhaps be foreign from my Purpose to mention here, that this worthy Gentleman Mr. *Pope*, when seiz'd with the Plague, and going soon to give an Account to God of his past Life, felt most severe Remorses of Conscience (as became a true Christian touch'd with a due Sense of his Sins) for all that he had committed against God, and his most excellent Prince, God's Vicegerent. And what very much added to the Disquiet of his Mind, labouring under the Lashes of a wounded Conscience, was both that the fatal Distemper with which he was infected, would not allow him Time, by some heroick Attempt for the Service of his King and Country injured by him, to certify sufficiently to all the World, that he heartily repented of what he had committed against them; and also that he judg'd himself unworthy to receive any Consolation in this his Extremity from the Ministry of that Church, which in her Extremity he had not only deserted basely, but cruelly persecuted. Weighing all these Things impartially with the Piety and Sincerity of a true Penitent, he own'd and adored

adored the great Justice of God in this Visitation, that he was now to be taken out of the World by that kind of Distemper, which, as of all others it is the most contagious, so he judged it highly unreasonable, from the Hazard of its Infection, to involve in the same Danger with himself, any of the Priests of the Church, whom, as many of them as had not deserted their Duty, he had so often and so severely persecuted ; and yet there was nothing he desired more ardently, than to unburthen his wounded Conscience to some good Man, to whom God had committed the Ministry of Reconciliation. Of so much Moment and Importance it was (in the Opinion of this devout Person) to be absolved from his Sins according to Christ's Institution, and the Practice of the Church of *England*, and indeed of the whole Catholick Church : And his dear Friend Mr. *Barwick* was the Person, into whose Bosom, preferably to all others, he desired to pour out his most holy Complaints, if the Contagion of his pestilent Disease would permit. But no Danger was so formidable to Mr. *Barwick*, that he would not willingly incur it, either to defeat the Designs of the Rebels, or to

reconcile their Minds to God and the King. He goes therefore with all Diligence to this excellent Person, now approaching his last Hour, and sincerely repenting of all the Sins he had committed against God, the King, and his Country, as well as those of a more private Nature; by the Authority he had received from Christ his Master, he absolves the Penitent, and with Prayers pour'd out to God from a clean Heart, wings his righteous Soul for her Flight to Heaven, and furnishes her with the holy *Viaticum* for that Journey. He knew very well, that by this generous Action he should do not only a very acceptable Service to his most merciful God, but also a very grateful Office to his most religious Prince. Besides which he considered, that it was no less for the Honour and Reputation of his holy Function, not to scruple with the utmost Hazard of his Life to administer Help and Comfort (as when there was Occasion he had always done) to devout Souls heavy laden with the Burthen of their Sins: And yet in the whole Course of his Life he never had the least infectious Distemper, not so much as the Meazles or Small-Pox, Diseases which very few escape.]

Nor

Nor did Mr. *Barwick*, in Prosecution of his secret Endeavours to promote the King's Service, make use only of the Help of such, as by his salutary Christian Advice, and his illustrious Example of Primitive Piety he had either brought back to their Duty, when strayed from it, or confirmed therein, when wavering; but he also procured the Assistance of those, who were perhaps from the beginning, like himself, very heartily affected to the King, but that so privately and unsuspected, as to be yet in great Favour and Authority with the Rebels. Among these was Mr. *Francis Cresset*, a Gentleman of an antient Family in *Shropshire*, and of great Credit with the Earl of ^f *Pembroke*, one of the chief of those few Noblemen that had join'd in the Rebellion. This worthy Person's hearty Concern for the Calamity of his Country, and his Fidelity and Readiness to serve the King,

^f *Philip* second Son of *Henry*, and younger Brother of *William*, successive Earls of *Pembroke*, who had been made Lord *Herbert* of *Shurland* in the Isle of *Sheppey* in *Kent*, and Earl of *Montgomery*, June 4, 1605. Knight of the Garter in May 1608. and upon his Brother *William's* Death April 10, 1630. succeeded to the Honour of Earl of *Pembroke*; and dying January 3, 1649. left that Honour to his fourth Son of the same Name, who was Father to the present Earl. *Dugd. Bar. Vol. 2. p. 260. Brit. Comp. or Rud. of Honour, Vol. 1. p. 82, &c.*

Mr. *Barwick* had found out, and was thoroughly convinc'd of by a long Acquaintance and Familiarity with him; for his Right Reverend Patron the Bishop of *Durham*, whose Chaplain he was, had long entertain'd Mr. *Cresset* in his Family, as he did other Gentlemen of Condition, and at length (when the Estates of the Clergy began to decay) had dismiss'd him with a fair Character, and no contemptible Reward of his honest Service, that he might engage himself to a Master of greater Figure, namely to the Earl of *Pembroke*, and that (as the Times then were) with Hopes of a more plentiful Fortune.

Mr. *Cresset* made it his Business, by a faithful Discharge of his Duty in all Things, to deserve and obtain the Favour and Affection of this his new Lord. Nor was it difficult for a Person of his Probity, by his Diligence and Assiduity to insinuate himself into the inmost Affections of this great Man, who was always too open and accessible to the Devices and Contrivances even of such, as were abandoned to all Wickedness. Yet it is not to be imagined, that this honourable Person entertained any Hatred in his Breast, or imbitter'd Malice against the
King,

King, to whom he had been very much oblig'd; but rather for want of due Consideration, was by a certain blind Prejudice induc'd to take Part with the Rebels, of whose Duty and Affection to his Majesty (to which they still pretended) after they should have removed him from I know not what evil Counsellors (as at that Time they calumniously stiled all such as were most faithful to him) he made no doubt to promise himself all the good Things imaginable. But Mr. *Cresset* was a Person of too much Wisdom and Penetration, not to see through those wicked Men's Designs against their excellent Prince; to whom he resolv'd at all Events to preserve his Allegiance inviolable, without declining in the mean Time any Instance of Duty to his Lord.

It happened about this Time, that this Mr. *Cresset's* Father and one of his Brothers were both slain in the Field of Battle, bravely fighting for the King; by which, in all likelihood, his generous Mind was yet more exasperated against these deadly Enemies of

§ Having been Lord Chamberlain of his Household, as well as Chancellor of the University of Oxford for a while, *Dugd. ibid.*

his Country : But his Friend Mr. *Barwick*, with whom he consulted daily, advis'd and persuaded him, not to shew his Resentment by openly and immediately taking Arms against them, to which he was inclin'd (tho' in a Man of his private Rank that would have been of no great Moment for the King's Service) much less, instead of publicly asserting the Cause of his oppressed Country, to entertain private Grudges, and meditate the Revenge of his Family's Blood, which the Christian Religion absolutely forbids: But to preserve himself entirely for the King, yet as privately and free from all Suspicion as possible, that when Occasion should offer, he might employ in serving the Publick the great Credit and Interest he had in his Patron; who gave too much Countenance and Encouragement to the Rebellion, if not by his Counsel and personal Assistance, yet at least by his Wealth and noble Extraction: Not that either Mr. *Barwick* or Mr. *Cresset* imagined, that it would be possible to draw over this great Man from the Parliament's side to the King's; since he pleased himself in being accounted of that Party, who by a most stupid Credulity had hitherto persuaded themselves, that all the
Attempts

Attempts and Undertakings of the Faction would be extreamly for his Majesty's Honour and Advantage: But Mr. *Barwick*, by the Assistance of his good Friend Mr. *Cresset*, had made the Earl of *Pembroke* (without his Lordship's Privity at least, or any Thought of what he did, if not also against his Will) more useful and serviceable to the King (if all his Majesty's Friends had perform'd their Duty with the same Diligence) than he would have been, if with all his Adherents he had deserted the Rebels, and join'd himself to the Royal Army. And indeed it was no very difficult Matter to employ for the Service of the King the Authority of so great a Man, who had such an Interest in the Rebels (himself no inconsiderable Part of them) and that without his Knowledge. And this was done several Ways: For by the Assistance of this Lord, Mr. *Cresset* obtained Passports from the Parliament Army, as it were Pledges of the publick Faith, for free Passage to and fro, by vertue of which certain *London* Pedlars, most faithful to the King, could freely traffick in all the Quarters of the Parliament Army. Now under the Pretext of this Commerce, Mr. *Barwick* procured a safe
 Conveyance

Conveyance as far as to the King's Quarters, which join'd upon those of the Rebels, for not a few Messages of great Importance, slid in 'as it were by Stealth among the Pedlars Wares, and sometimes also for Money and Ammunition, furnished by certain Citizens in his Majesty's Interest, to be conveyed thence to *Oxford* by some of the King's Party, who waited in those Places to receive them. In the mean Time Mr. *Barwick* himself (lying as it were behind the Curtain) was known to very few of those, of whose Help he made use, either by Sight, or so much as by Name; and those few only Persons of the greatest Probity, and who knew hardly any Thing of what was doing, or indeed desir'd to know it, but as it were through a Lattice, and enveloped in a Mist, to the end that they might more easily clear themselves, if they should happen to be taken. For Mr. *Barwick* was particularly careful, that no one should pry into the King's Secrets intrusted to him, with more Curiosity than was necessary, or any Ways convenient; for by this Means due Care was taken, that no Man was ever much expos'd on his Account, and that his Majesty's Affairs did in

no kind ever suffer by the indiscreet Blabbing of any one: Nor was it easy to find out the meaning of Letters written in Cyphers, with how much malicious Zeal soever any one should attempt it: Yet there was not wanting a certain ^h Person, too officious at that Time to gratify the King's Enemies, who discovered to them the greatest Part of his Majesty's Letters taken at *Naseby* Fight, though all written in Characters.

But besides the Assistance of Mr. *Cresset* in conveying Letters to and fro, Mr. *Barwick* also made use of the Help of certain

^h This Person is generally supposed to have been Dr. *Wallis*. *Stubbe*, in his *severe Enquiry into the late Oneirocrita*, charges him directly with having decypher'd (besides others, to the Ruin of many loyal Persons) the King's Cabinet taken at *Naseby*, and as a Monument of his noble Performances, deposited the Original, with the Decyphering, in the publick Library at *Oxford*. *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 415*. And my learned Friend Mr. *Hearne* assures me, that the very original Book here mentioned, written in Dr. *Wallis*'s own Hand, is now, at least lately was, in that Library. And Dr. *Wallis* himself confesseth and boasts of his Skill in that Art, in his Letter to *Menkenius*, dated *January 1-11, 1696-7. De Cryptographematis explicandis*, &c. published in the third Volume of his *Opera Mathematica*, p. 659. *Oxon. 1689. Hanc Ego rem primum aggressus eram jam ante annos plus quinquaginta, & quasi ludendo in facili Ciphre quam duarum horarum spatio superavi*, &c. and then gives you a *Specimen*, in a Letter from the *Marquess of Bethune* to Cardinal *D'Etrees* in Cypher, and after decypher'd, with more to that Purpose.

†

adventurous

adventurous Women, hired for that Purpose by Mr. *Royston* the Bookseller above-mentioned, to disperse every where, as well in the King's Army, as in the Parliament's, when Occasion offered, his Books in Defence of the Royal Cause, whether printed at *London* or at *Oxford*; for between those two Places one or other of these Women used frequently to travel on Foot, like Strowlers begging from House to House, and loitering at Places agreed upon, to take up Books (which Mr. *Royston* had conveyed by stealth among other Merchandize into the Western Barges on the *Thames*, and the Bargemen had put on Shore there) and sell them to Retailers well known to them. Now it was easy to sew Letters privately within the Cover of any Book, and then give the Book a secret Mark, to notify the Insertion of such Letters therein. But Mr. *Barwick* acted in every Thing with such Care, Diligence, and Caution, that no one either of his Letters, or of those that conveyed them, ever fell into the Enemy's Hands: For he was very careful to employ faithful and honest Messengers, but such for the most part, as were in Circumstances not much to be envied, and were consequently

quently, through the Mediocrity or rather Meanness of their Condition, less conspicuous and more safe; while others of more extraordinary Note betrayed and discovered themselves by their own Splendor. Among these was that honourable Person the Lady ⁱ *D' Aubigny*, who undertook to con-

ⁱ Widow to the Lord *Stewart*, Lord *Aubigny*, Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Lenox* and *Richmond*, which Lord *Aubigny* was kill'd at *Edgehill*, as his two Brothers, the Lord *John*, and the Lord *Bernard Stewart*, who were in the same Battel, were afterwards both slain in the War. This Lord *Aubigny's* only Son was afterwards Duke of *Richmond*. *Clarend. Hist. Vol. 2. Part 1. p. 52, 53.*

This Lady by a Pass and with the Consent of the Parliament, coming to *Oxford* to transact the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King, upon the Death of her Husband, and returning to *London* in a few Days, was desired by the King to convey a small Parcel thither with great Care and Secrecy, under the Protection of her Pass, but not acquainted what it was, only that it much concerned his Service. *Clarend. ibid. p. 252.* *Ludlow* says she made it up in the Hair of her Head. *Mem. Vol. 1. p. 82.* however it was carefully delivered according to order, and 'tis yet unknown by what Means it was discovered. *Clarend. ibid.* This Lady *D' Aubigny* was long confin'd on this Occasion, and had been put to Death, if she had not made her Escape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, by the King's Approbation she married the Lord *Newburgh*, and both of them entertain'd a secret Correspondence with his Majesty under his Confinement in the Isle of *Wight*, and concerted Measures for his Escape in his Passage from thence to *London*, to have been put in execution on his Majesty's dining at their House at *Bagshot* in his Road, but unhappily prevented. After the King's Murder she and her Lord being compell'd to fly out of *England*, upon Discoveries which *Cromwell* daily made of the Correspondence they had held with the King, she not long after died at the *Hague*. *Clarend. Hist. Vol. 3. Part 1. p. 247, 248, 289, 290.* See also Dr. *Perrinchief's* Life of *Charles* the First, p. 107.

vey to *London* the King's^k Commission for arming the Citizens against the Rebels; and falling into the Hands of the latter, was the unhappy Occasion, that two very brave Citizens, and very honest Men, Mr. *Thompkins* and Mr. *Challoner*, were put to^l Death, to the unspeakable Loss of their Country, and the inexpressible Grief of their most gracious Prince.

What other private Agents his Majesty had at *London* to take Care of his publick Affairs, I do not well know. He might have those that were of more Note: But I must beg leave to say, he never had any one, who discharged that Trust with greater Prudence than Mr. *Barwick*, or with more Fidelity, or better Success. And lest any one should suspect, that I say this with more Ostentation than Truth, what I assert will more evidently appear from hence, that when his Majesty's Interest afterwards declin'd, and was plainly desperate, and his

^k It was the Commission of Array in *English. Clarend. Hist. Vol. 2. Part 1. p. 251.* dated from *Oxford Mar. 16, Anno Regni 18 Dommi, 1643.* and published in *Vicars Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 359, &c.*

^l See a particular Account of this. *Clarend. Hist. Vol. 2. Part 1. p. 257, &c.*

Person press'd with inextricable Difficulties on all Sides, he condescended, in Preference to so many others, to admit Mr. *Barwick* into a great Share of his Affection, and to the Participation of his most secret Counsels; as in the Sequel will be related more at large. For when at length, whether through want of Money and Ammunition, or by the Sloth, Cowardice, Falshood, and Treachery of such as were willing to be thought the King's Friends, or lastly by the Dissentions and Misunderstandings growing in all Parts of his Army (the usual Effect of ill Success) his Affairs were become desperate; for fear of being shut up, as in a Net, within the Walls of *Oxford*, his Majesty began to think of throwing himself into the Enemy's Camp, and trying the Issue of those magnificent Promises of Duty, which the Parliament had so often made him: At this Time he gave Mr. *Barwick* in Charge, to make it his Business, that Mr. *Cresset* might be ready to render him what Service should be in his Power; for when the Management of the King's domestick Affairs was no longer like to be ordered according to his Majesty's own Will, but at the Pleasure and Discretion of his Enemies;

F

and

and it was certain, that all his most faithful Servants would be banished from the Service of their dearest Master, his Majesty desired nothing more earnestly, than that Mr. *Cresset*, of whose secret Affection to him he had been inform'd by Mr. *Barwick*; should by the Favour and Assistance of the Earl of *Pembroke*, endeavour to procure from the Rebels, that himself might be made one of the King's new Servants. But those few Members, who had assum'd to themselves the Authority of the whole Parliament at *Westminster*, and had more than once solemnly sworn, that if his Majesty would trust himself to their Fidelity, they would exalt him to a higher Pitch of Royal Dignity, than any of his Predecessors had ever attained to; now that of his own accord he offered himself to them, to come to the House unarm'd, and treat Face to Face with them concerning Conditions of Peace, take upon them an Air of Haughtiness and Disdain, and insolently refuse him. Nay, by a ^m Vote of their House they condemn

^m My Lord *Clarendon* says nothing of this Vote, but that as soon as the Parliament heard, that the King was arrived at the
Scottish

demn him to a close Confinement in *Warwick* Castle, even before they have him in their Power. This barbarous Vote induc'd his Majesty rather to throw himself into the Hands of the *Scots*, at that Time encamp'd in the North of *England*, as the more favourable Enemies of the two. Yet he did not do this, till by the Mediation of the *French* ⁿ Ambassador then residing in their Camp, the *Scots* had solemnly engag'd to receive him upon the most honourable Conditions, and entertain him as became the Dignity and Majesty of their Prince, and to protect him against all Injuries and

Scottish Army, they sent a positive Command to the Committee of both Kingdoms residing there, that the Person of the King should be forthwith sent to *Warwick* Castle. *Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 35. But a villanous Pamphlet published at *Edinburgh*, Anno 1646, under the Title of *A Resolve of the Person of the King* (and refer'd to in the *Oxford Reasons against the Covenant*, p. 22.) does (p. 6.) expressly mention the *English Parliament's* voting the King's Person to *Warwick* Castle; yet seems to mean rather after, than before, his Majesty's surrendring himself to the *Scots*. But though I have not met with any other Authority for this Particular, it is not likely my Author would have asserted it so expressly without good Authority; and the Parliament's commanding the Commissioners abovementioned to send the King to *Warwick* Castle, when he was in their Power, might be in Consequence of a Vote they had made to that Purpose before his Majesty's Surrender. See *P. D'Orleans Hist. des Revolut. D'Angleterre.* T. 3. Liv. 9. p. 134. *Clarend. Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 35. *Echard. Hist.* B. 2. ch. 4. p. 625. *Micro chron.* May 6, 1646.

ⁿ Monsieur Montreuil.

Affronts from all Malecontents whatsoever. But they soon most shamefully broke their Faith, though pledg'd in the solemnest manner, and agreeing with the *English* Rebels for two hundred thousand Pounds of our Money, contrary to all the Laws of Hospitality, delivered up the King to their Commissioners, the chief of whom was the Earl of *Pembroke*, so often mentioned above. Yet they did not dare to perpetrate this monstrous Wickedness, till they had obtained from his Majesty, that all his Forces then on Foot both in *England* and *Scotland* should be disbanded, particularly that most noble Body of *Scots*, equally brave and loyal, who under their General the Marquess of *Montrose*, famous for his great Actions
beyond

° *James*, Marquess and Earl of *Montrose*, descended from, and chief of that illustrious and antient Family of the *Grahams*, called in old *Scottish* Language *Graham-More*, i. e. The Great *Graham*; of whom one was Son in Law to *Fergus* the Great King of *Scotland*, and Governor of that Kingdom during the Minority of King *Eugene* the Second. 'Twas he that was so celebrated in the History of that Nation, for casting down that Trench which *Severus* had caused to be made for the utmost Limits of the *Roman* Empire, between the *Scottish* Frith and the River *Cluid*, by this Means cutting off the Power of the *Romans*: In Memory of which glorious Action the Remains of that Trench are to this Day called *Greme's-Dyke*. (*Rushworth's Hist. Collect. Vol. ult. p. 908.*) The Marquess's direct Ancestor Sir *David Graham*

beyond the Reach of Envy, had maintained the Royal Cause with miraculous Success. The Commissioners of the *English* Rebels being

ham had a Grant of considerable Estates from *William* King of *Scotland*; and his Son (also *Sir David*) obtained distinct Charters of them all, under the Great Seal of *Alexander* the Third, in whose Reign the next Descendant *Sir Patrick* was High Sheriff of the County of *Sterling*. His Son, *Sir David*, was a great Loyalist to King *Robert Bruce*, and one of the Lords, who in a Letter to Pope *John XXI. or XXII. Anno 1320.* asserted the Independency of *Scotland*, and extoll'd that King as its Deliverer. His Grandson *Sir Patrick*, stiled Lord of *Dundaff*, was one of the Hostages for the Ransom of King *David, Anno 1351.* His Son *William* Lord of *Graham* was Embassador to *England*, and *William's* Grandson, *Patrick*, was one of the Lords of the Regency, in the Minority of King *James* the Second. His Grandson *William* was a great Favourite of King *James* the Third, and King *James* the Fourth, and by the latter was made Earl of *Montrose, March 3, 1504.* His Son *William* was one of the Peers, who had the Tuition of King *James* the Fifth in his Minority. His Grandson *John* was first Lord Treasurer, then Privy Counsellor, then Chancellor, and afterwards Vice-Roy of *Scotland* during Life. He dying *Anno 1608,* was succeeded by Earl *John*, President of the Council to *Charles* the First King of *England*, and Father to this great Assertor of the Rights of his King and Country, *James* made Marquess of *Montrose, May 6, 1644.* In the beginning of the Troubles he had been of the Covenanters Party, and was the first who marched his Men over the *Tweed* in the first *Scotch* Invasion; but finding his Countrymen designed the Ruin of the King and Monarchy, he left his Party, went to the King at *Oxford*, and discovered to him the Counsel of the Covenanters, particularly their Intentions to invade *England* again; which, through the Prevalence of *Hamilton's* Faction at Court the King would not believe, till in 1643 he heard the *Scots* were marched over *Tweed*; and then he sent the Duke of *Hamilton* Prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle, and dispatched *Montrose* as chief Governor into *Scotland*, where he obtained many signal Victories over the Rebels, made the Confederate Lords quit the Kingdom, brought back the

being now in Possession of the King, put new Servants about him, fordid and mean enough; but among them Mr. *Cresset* obtained the Favour not only of serving his Majesty in an inferior Station, but of presiding over almost all his domestick Affairs, and having the chief Care of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Table; by which Means his Majesty was the more secure against all Danger of Poison; if the Rebels had thought

Cities and Provinces to their Duty, and had maintained these Advantages, if the Horse which his Majesty detach'd under the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had join'd him; but they being dispers'd in *England*, betray'd by the Earls of *Traquaire* and *Rosburg*, he was surpriz'd and defeated at *Selkirk* by *David Lesly*, and yet had recover'd this Loss, but that the King having surrendred himself to the *Scotch* Army, commanded him to disband, whereupon he left the Kingdom; but returning in 1649 by the Command of King *Charles* the Second from the *Hague*, where he had been made Knight of the Garter, and being disappointed of the Forces he hoped to raise, he was overpower'd and defeated by *Lesly* and *Straughan*; and being afterwards betray'd by the Laird of *Aston* for a thousand Pound, was taken and carried Prisoner to *Edenburgh*, and there murdered, *March* 21, *Anno* 1650, with all the Circumstances of Malice and Ignominy, behaving himself with the utmost Bravery and Fortitude both at his Trial and Execution. His Grandson *James* was made Marquess of *Grahams* and Duke of *Montrose* by Queen *Anne*, *April* 24, 1707, and is now living. See the *British Compend*, or *Rudiments of Honour*, *Part* 2. p. 40, &c. *Commentar. de Rebellione Anglic.* *Autor.* R. M. Eq. *Aur. Lib.* 2. p. 176, ad 183. *Bates's Elenchus motuum nuper. in Angl.* *Part* 2. p. 208. ad 211. *Carend. Hist.* *Vol.* 3. p. 351, &c. *Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*, p. 336, &c. See also the *Compleat History of the Wars of Scotland*, under the Conduct of the illustrious and truly valiant *James Marquess of Montrose*, &c. written by *Dr. George Wishart* afterwards Bishop of *Edinburgh*.

of making any such Attempt upon his Life
 And as by the Assistance of this faithful
 Servant he would be the better appriz'd of
 all the Plots of his Enemies against him;
 so was he also of all the Purposes and En-
 deavours of his Friends for his Service.

His Majesty (the most gracious Prince,
 and if his Rebel Subjects would have per-
 mitted, also the most glorious) too rich a
 Spoil alas! for his Enemies, being now
 encompass'd with another Set of Servants,
 made up of new Men, and indeed mostly
 of Persons (a very few excepted) of no Fa-
 mily, is brought from the *Scotch* Camp to
Holdenby^m Castle, and there thrown into close
 Confinement;

^m In *Northamptonshire*, commonly called *Holmby*, a very state-
 ly House, built by the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, as the last and
 greatest Monument of his Youth, as he express'd; and in King
James the First's Reign purchased by Queen *Anne*, for her se-
 cond Son the Duke of *York*, who by the Death of Prince *Henry*,
 became Prince of *Wales*, and afterwards to the next Duke of
York, second Son to King *Charles* the First (Sir *Thomas Herbert's*
Memoirs, p. 9, 10.) since given to the late Earl of *Feverham*,
 I suppose by that Duke his great Friend and fellow Soldier in
France, and this probably on his first Promotion to the Dignity
 of a Baron of *England* by the Title of Lord *Duras* of *Holdenby*,
January 19, 24 *Car.* 2. (*Dugd. Bar. Tom.* 2. p. 485.) Here the
 King was kept Prisoner from *February* 17, 1646, to *June* 4,
 1647, during which Confinement he composed those most di-
 vine Meditations and Soliloquies that are in his Book. (*Dr.*
Perrinchief's Life of Charles the First, p. 62.) Hence he was car-

Confinement; not to *Warwick* Castle (to which they had formerly thought fit to condemn him by their unanimous Vote) but here, in the Sight of *Naseby* Field, to mortify ⁿ him with the bitter Remembrance of the Overthrow he had lately suffered ^o there, and to triumph with more Insolence over their captive King. And now, as his Majesty had too truly prophesied, they take care to banish out of his Sight all Persons whatsoever, that according to their Duty had served him hitherto, whether in military, civil, or domestick Employments, and those whether sacred or secular; indeed all such in general, as they suspected in the least to favour his Interest: They in the mean Time, who to the Regret of all good Men thrust themselves into the Places of others, being more like Jaylors to him, than Servants.

ried away by Cornet *Foyce* (as will be mentioned presently) first to *Childerley*, and thence to *Newmarket*. About two Years after the King left *Holdenby*, that beautiful and famous Structure was, amongst other his Majesty's Royal Houses, pull'd down by order of Parliament, to satisfy the Soldiers Arrears. Sir (*Thomas Herbert's Mem.* p. 23, 24, 32.)

ⁿ See Dr. *Perrinchief's Life of Charles the First*, p. 61.

^o *Viz.* On the 14th of *June* 1645.

In this his Majesty's Solitude I cannot say, whether any Letters or other Message whatsoever could at any Time pass between him and his dearest Consort the Queen, or any of the Royal Progeny, much less any of his Majesty's most faithful Subjects, but through Mr. *Barwick's* and Mr. *Cresset's* Hands ; so extremely difficult it was to escape the watchful Eyes of his most vigilant Keepers : Nor had even they been able to convey any, but that it was thought almost a Crime to entertain the least Suspicion of Mr. *Cresset*, who was known to be so much in Favour with the Earl of *Pembroke*, a Person for whom they had the greatest Regard.

And now at last almost all the *British* Nation (the most considerable Part of which had always been of the King's side) openly charge their Representatives (of whom they had formerly conceiv'd such mighty Hopes) with downright Perjury, and treacherously imposing on their Country, under the specious Mask of Piety. They see plainly that their Pretence of reforming Religion, with which they made so much Noise, was only an Artifice to enrich themselves. And now they begin to repent, alas! too late, of having dethron'd

dethron'd their most gracious Sovereign, and reduced the Glory of his Majesty to the mean Condition of a Captive. But what yet more afflicted them was, to see this unheard of Wickedness committed by the very Dregs of their Senators, who had usurped to themselves the Name of Parliament (*sacred* as it was then commonly esteemed) after the tumultuous Populace at their Instance had expell'd the far greater Part of both Houses, and hardly left the Shadow of the upper House remaining. This publick and general Hatred of the pretended Parliament came very opportunely for the Soldiers, who had hitherto fought under their Banner, and been the Ministers of all their Wickedness, but were now contriving how to shake off their Yoak, and fight hereafter for themselves. They thought it very hard, that when the King had been subdued by their Valour alone, and at the Expence of their Blood, a few Members of the House should enrich only themselves with the Spoils of their Victory, living luxuriously and at their Ease, and always free from the Dangers of War, while they of the Soldiery in the mean Time (no more born to be Slaves, than they who sat aloft

in Parliament and fared sumptuously) were after so many Victories obtained, not without Blood, often forced to pinch their Bellies for want of their Pay. Nor did they refrain from openly complaining (as all the rest of the People did) of the cruel Tyranny of the Parliament, both over their fellow Subjects, and the King himself. They alledge, that they do not understand, what Right the Parliament have against the King, which they themselves, the strenuous Defenders of their fellow Subjects Liberty, have not against the Parliament, in case the Members shall not reduce themselves into Order. In the mean Time *Cromwell*, together with the rest of the General Officers (as he was most perfectly skill'd in the Art of dissembling) pretended to pay a wonderful Regard to the Parliament, and not to make any Doubt, but that at the least Beck of theirs the common Soldiers would immediately lay down their Arms; yet at the same Time he was thought to have privately and underhand procured one *Cornet Joyce*, a malapert Fellow of mean Condition (some say he was a Taylor) whom he knew ready enough to execute his Orders,

ders, to be set over a Body of fifteen ^p hundred Horse. Strengthened with these Forces this new Horse-Officer surprizes *Holndenby* Castle, and carries the King to the Army's Head Quarters, having privately heard, that his Majesty was to have been suddenly sent ^a to *London*: And being asked by what Authority he dar'd attempt a Matter of that Importance, without the Parliament's Order, he answered, that he did this of his own accord, to procure Liberty for his fellow Subjects, and also for the

^p This looks like a Mistake; for it can hardly be imagined, either that such an inferior Officer should have the Command of a Party of fifteen hundred Horse, or that with such a Number the Design could have been conducted with so much Secrecy. My Lord *Clarendon* calls it a Squadron of fifty Horse, *Hist. Vol. 3. p. 47.* yet *Heath* makes them a thousand Men. *Chronicle p. 129.* *Sanderfon* in his *Life and Reign of King Charles*, p. 986. mentioning the King's own Account of this Matter, sent to the Parliament by the Earl of *Dunferling*, says his Majesty *sends them Word, he was unwillingly taken away by a Part of the Army, five hundred Troopers, &c.* which, as it is between the two Extremes, so is probably the true Account, and is printed in *Italick Characters*, as if it were the very Words of the Express.

^a Dr. *Perrinchief* says, that the Presbyterians had it in Consultation, to order Colonel *Greves*, who had the Command of the Guard about the King at *Holmby*, to remove his Majesty to *London*; the Intelligence of which coming to the Army by the Treachery of a certain Lord, they immediately send a Body of Horse to prevent them, and to force him into their own Quarters. *Life of Charles the First, p. 63.*

King

King himself, who suffered too severe a Bondage there. While his Majesty enjoyed his Freedom in the Camp, and his Servants and Friends were allowed the Liberty of coming to him, of his Goodness he vouchsafed among others to have Mr. *Barwick* with him, and deliver him his Orders by Word of Mouth, whom hitherto he hardly knew more than by his Letters; for he had had sufficient Proof of his Fidelity, Courage, Secrecy, and Prudence, and of his Duty and Affection to his distressed Prince, and oppressed Country: Nor did his Majesty make the least Doubt of trusting him with any of his most important Secrets. Mr. *Barwick* willingly embraced this Opportunity of making frequent Journeys to and fro, to carry the King's Commands to such as were desirous of the publick Peace, both in the Parliament, and in the City of *London*, and convey back to his Majesty what Advice they thought proper in so uncertain a Conjunction of Affairs.

For the Mock-Parliament, most of them ill bred Men, puffed up with the perpetual Success of Victories obtained by the Blood of others, and intoxicated with Zeal for their new Superstition, having rejected that

Offer the King made them of his own accord, to come and treat Face to Face with them at *London* upon Conditions of Peace, at last, though too late, repented of that insolent Usage; when they saw plainly, that their own Mercenaries were going to give Laws severe and imperious enough, not only to the King, but to them their Masters: Not that the most of them had much Concern either for his Majesty or their Country; but that they could no longer prosecute their own private Interests; for the Army's Proposals for establishing Peace, (had they really meant what they offered) seemed both to the King and to all the People, more favourable and advantageous, than what the Parliament insisted on. They proposed the absolute Restoration of his Majesty and all the Royal Family upon more reasonable Terms, and that a Day should be set for putting an end to the Parliament then sitting; a Proposal embraced by the whole *British* Nation, as the most acceptable Thing in the World to them, and indeed as if it had been a Message sent them from Heaven.

During these Dissentions between the Parliament and the Army, the King (as has been
been

been said) sent Mr. *Barwick* to *London*, to solicit his Friends to promote the Conclusion of the Peace upon the most favourable Terms they could; and this was heartily endeavoured, but in vain, by some Persons of great Authority both in the City, and in the Parliament. Among these was Mr. *Richard Brown* a Citizen of principal Note, and no less famous for his martial Valour: He was Member of Parliament for *London*, and had formerly been a strenuous Advocate for Presbytery; but having been appointed one of the Commissioners, whom the Parliament deputed to go and receive the King from the *Scotch* Army; and having observed there, that in all the Conferences his Majesty had with the most exquisite whether Politicians or Divines of the Parliament side, He was not only equal but superior to them, he returned entirely to his Faith and Allegiance to the King, and ever after persever'd therein, declining no Danger for his Majesty's Service: At last after the happy Restoration he was most deservedly honoured with the Title of a Baronet, and the chief Command of all the *City Militia*.

And now both Parties make Preparations for War, ⁹ on one side the Veteran Soldiers against the Parliament their Masters, on the other the Parliament with some new rais'd Forces of the Citizens, against their own hired Soldiers: And each Party pretends a very honourable Cause of War, the one to take Arms for the King and Parliament, the other for the King and People. His Majesty in the mean Time commanded Mr. *Barwick* to put himself into a Lay Habit (a Practice at that Time too much used by those in Orders) and with a Sword by his Side to join that Expedition, which *Cromwell's* Party were making towards *London*, with a Pretence of fighting under their Banners, who declared so magnificently for the Liberty of the King and People; but in reality, that from a careful Observation of their Behaviour and Acclamations, he might inform himself, how both the common Soldiers and their Officers stood affected towards the King and their Country, and give an Account thereof to his Majesty: Nor could there be the least Doubt,

⁹ See Dr. *Perrinchief's* Life of *Charles* the First, p. 65.

either to Mr. *Barwick* or any one else that accompanied this Expedition, but that almost all the common Soldiers would most readily have returned to their Duty, if their Leaders had not most shamefully broke the Promises they had with so much Shew and Ostentation of Fidelity made the King, and imposed upon their Ignorance and Simplicity, and Readiness to obey them in every Thing, by an Instance of Fraud and Treachery infamous beyond the Example of all Ages: For when now at length without Difficulty they had made themselves Masters of the City and Parliament, as well as of the King (for the Citizens readily opened their Gates to these victorious Legions, who came, as they pretended, to restore the King to his Throne, and Peace to their Country) and when after so many glorious Promises most solemnly made by their Leaders, the whole *British* Nation thought it a Crime to make any Doubt, but that the Parliament would immediately be dissolv'd, and his Majesty and all the Royal Family without the least Delay restor'd: Behold immediately they take effectual Care to see turned out of Place, and thrown into Prison, all such as, either in the City or in

the Parliament, they suspected to have any Regard left for the King or the antient Constitution. And not long after this the Parliament now turned into a kind of Court-Marshal, agree upon this publick Vote ^p,
 “ That no more Addresses be made from
 “ the Parliament to the King, nor any
 “ Letters or Message received from him;
 “ and that it should be Treason for any
 “ Person whatsoever, to deliver any Mes-
 “ sage to the King, or receive any Letter
 “ or Message from him, without Leave
 “ from both Houses of Parliament.” But it was not thought proper to attempt this barbarous Vote, till *Cromwell* had by his holy Cheats seduced the good King into the Isle of *Wight*, and confined him in *Carisbrook* Castle, a Fort of great Strength, under the Pretence however of guarding his Majesty more safely, lest he should suffer any Thing from the wicked Conspiracies of Assassins then swarming in the Army, who had laid wait for his Life: [Whom yet there is no Doubt, but ^q *Cromwell* himself had privately

^p See *Dugd. Short View, ad An. 1647. p. 275.*

^q Mr. *Ashburnham*, who accompanied the King in his Escape from *Hampton-Court*, and to the Isle of *Wight*, gives this Account

vately hired to commit that heinous Wickedness, being resolved to take away the Life of one of the best Princes in the World
by

count of the Reasons that induced his Majesty to take that Resolution (in his *Letter to a Friend concerning his Deportment towards the King, &c.* printed in 1648, p. 2, 3.) that some few Weeks before his Majesty's Remove from Hampton-Court, there was scarce a Day in which several Alarms were not brought to his Majesty, by and from very considerable Persons (both well affected to him, and likely to know much of what was then in Agitation) of the Resolution which a violent Party in the Army had to take away his Life; and that such a Design there was, there were strong Inducements to persuade; and I hope Charity will be afforded to those many who were, and still are of that Belief, since I confess my self to be of that Number; which Practice seem'd to his Majesty the more probable, for that many other Particulars which were said in those Informations to precede that Action, fell out accordingly; whereupon his Majesty thought it not Wisdom longer to despise the possible Means left him for the Prevention of that Danger, and therefore resolved to retire himself from thence. And in the Letters his Majesty left behind him, he declared, the Reason of his Remove to be an Apprehension, that some desperate Persons had a Design to assassinate him. (Clarend. Hist. Vol. 3. Book x. p. 77.) Those desperate Persons (we are told in a short View of the Life and Reign of King Charles, &c.) were the Agitators, who for a Time much governed the lower Part of the Army (p. 137.) and were known (says my Lord Clarendon) to be Cromwell's own Creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do any Thing, but by his Direction. (Hist. Vol. 3. Book x. p. 46.) Accordingly we are assured by Sir William Dugdale, that Cromwell spurr'd them on to the greatest Fierceness that might be, yet whispered to the King such a Fear of their Unruliness, as that his Majesty stood in no little Danger to be clandestinely murdered by the Hand of some hot-spirited Enthusiast. (Short View of the late Troubles, ch. 26. p. 260, 261.) Such was that bloody Assassin Captain Rolfe (as Sir William writes his Name) employed by these new Saints (as himself did confess) to remove his Majesty out of the Way, by Poison or any other Means. (Dugd. Short View, ch. 28. p. 285.) in pursuance, most probably, of a Design between the Parliament and Army to seize the King's Person; the Account of

by the Sword, or the Poison of secret Assassins; but that to avoid the Envy of private Murther, he chose rather to abuse the
 sacred

which, with other Informations to the same Purpose, made him endeavour an Escape, as Mr. Wagstaffe tells us in the Appendix to his Vindication of that blessed Martyr, p. 158. where the Letter is printed which gave that Account, that Part of it decypher'd by the King himself in his own Hand. The Letter says, *There is a notable Design, to which are agreed the Army and Parliament, and by concurring Counsels, to which end an Express is sent to Cromwell to dispose of his Majesty, and thereupon advises his sudden Escape: and the King was so sensible of the Danger, that in one of his own Letters written to hasten his Escape (most probably on Occasion of that Advice, for that Letter is immediately subjoin'd to the other) He says, By what I have heard since I saw you, I find that few Days will make that impossible, which now is feasible. And in another, I pray you, believe me, that I am lost, if I do not escape.* (ibid. p. 160, 161.) Dr. Perrinchief tells us, that some that had before contrived his Majesty's Death, and to murder him while he was in the Scotch Camp (so at once to satisfy their own Revenge, and load their Enemies with the Infamy of the Murder) yet could not then perform it; were now, that they had brought him to Hampton-Court, fierce for a speedy and secret Assassination by Pistol or Poison. (*Life of King Charles the First*, p. 66. See also p. 67.) There is no Doubt therefore of that impious Design; and who more likely to be at the Bottom of it, than that infamous Villain Cromwell and his Party, who (when afterwards the same Rolph was accused in both Houses of such a Conspiracy against the King's Life) as they slighted the Information in their House, and when forced by the Lords to have the Miscreant try'd, made the Judge, Serjeant Wild, a Creature of theirs, influence the Jury to bring him off by an Ignoramus. (*Clarend. Hist. Vol. 3. B. xi. p. 233, 234.*) so when now, after repeated Promises of restoring the King, made particularly by Cromwell and Ireton (who severally professed their Readiness to hazard their Lives for that Purpose, the former, if but ten, the latter, even if but five would join with him; *Dugd. Short View, ch. 27. p. 262, 263. Major Huntington's Memoirs, p. 155.*) when after these magnificent Promises and
 Professions,

sacred Name of publick Justice, as he afterwards did, accumulating upon one another the most enormous Wickednesses he could invent, whose Head had been always observed to be too fruitful of that kind of Inventions.]

After this tumultuary Vote for abjuring the King, and never consulting him more, made by a Handful of worthless Fellows, usurping against all Right and Justice the House of Parliament to themselves, and foully defiling the Reverence of the Place, they bind his Majesty in harder Chains, and place watchful Guards at every Passage into his Chamber, and even at the very Windows, that no Stranger should have the least Discourse with him, or privately convey to him any Scrip of a Letter that Way; for they knew very well, that there would not be wanting such, as would have more Zeal

Professions, they and their execrable Faction were just going to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their anointed Sovereign, and *Cromwell* had a Blank sent him, sign'd by the King and Prince, and confirm'd by the *States of Holland*, to fill up with his own Conditions, if he would save his Majesty's Life, that Arch-Rebel had the Impudence to send this Answer back, that *the Council of Officers had been SEEKING GOD, as he also had done the same, and it was resolv'd by them all, that the King must die.* (*Echard's Hist. Book 2. ch. v. p. 658.*)

and Affection for their dearest Prince, now he was treated with so much Indignity; and would little value the Penalty threatened by that new Vote, if by any Means they could assist or relieve him; yet they did not at all doubt, but all his Majesty's Domesticks at least, and those of his Bed-chamber, who were very few, and they for the most part Men of no Note, and chosen by themselves, bore him sufficient Enmity and Hatred. But there was one among them, Mr. *Cresset*, more than once above-mentioned, by whose Assistance his Majesty securely deposited a Cypher with Mr. *Barwick* at *London*, and through whose Hands every Week he sent him his Royal Commands about the arduous Affairs of the Kingdom, all written with his own Hand in secret Characters, to be interpreted only by that Cypher, and as often received back his Answers, to be explained also thereby; of which Cypher the King himself kept a Copy by him, hid in a Crack of the Wall. Nor did only Mr. *Cresset* yield his Majesty his Assistance under this Confinement; for there was not one of that Shadow of a Family, if he had the least Drop of generous Blood in his Veins, how inveterate an Enemy
foever

foever in the Field he had formerly been against his Majesty, but who now repented^d though too late, and returned to his Duty^s heartily, though tacitly lamenting the great Indignities offered to this most excellent Prince. Particularly there were three Persons of more generous Dispositions, Mr. Barrow, Mr. ^r Titus, and Mr. ^f Firebrace, all three

^r In the Key to the King's Letters concerning this Matter, he is called Captain Titus, most probably the same Silas Titus, who (Mr. Wood says) was a Captain under the Parliament; — after, when Independency prevailed, adhered to the King. — In 1647, taken into Favour by Oliver Cromwell, to persuade the King, then in the Isle of Wight, to consent to the four dethronizing Votes, &c. (Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 1036. Edit. 2.) Instead of that, he seems rather to have chosen to endeavour the Rescue of his Majesty out of the Hands of the Rebels; and afterwards when Cromwell usurp'd the Sovereignty, is commonly thought to have written a little Tract intitled, *Killing no Murder*, to prove it lawful to kill a Tyrant, as a common Enemy to his Country, a Piece which added greatly to the Fears and Suspicions that perpetually haunted that Usurper, and which some think hastened his Death: I suppose it was after the Restoration that he was made a Colonel. He was a Person of great Figure in many of the Parliaments after that Time, and in that of 1680, mov'd for bringing in the Bill of Exclusion. (Echard's Hist. Vol. 2. Book 3. ch. 2. p. 730. and Vol. 3. Book 2. ch. 3. p. 992.) yet he was afterwards sworn of the Privy-Council, July 6, 1688, to that very Prince whom he would have excluded. See the Gazette of that Date.

^f Mr. Echard calls him Mr. Thomas Firebrace, (Hist. Vol. 2. B. 2. ch. v. p. 647.) but that is a Mistake: It was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Firebrace, a Gentleman of a very antient Family of Stoke Golding in Leicestershire, at least that was afterwards his Seat.

Three employed in guarding his Majesty, who in concert with Mr. *Cresset*, having

How remarkably serviceable he was to his Majesty in his greatest Distress, appears both from the several Letters which passed between them on the Subject of his Majesty's intended Escape, II printed in the Appendix N^o I. 1, 2, &c. and particularly from his Majesty's giving it in Charge to Bishop *Juxon*, the very Day before he was murdered, to recommend him to the Prince, afterwards King *Charles the Second*, as having been a Person very faithful and serviceable to him in his greatest Extremities and most strict Imprisonments, and therefore fit to be employed and intrusted by him; which was certified under that good Bishop's own Hand, when afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Nov. 25. 1661. as appears by a Copy of that Certificate also printed in the Appendix N^o II. which at the Instance of my worthy Friends *William Hurton* of *Long Melford* in *Suffolk*, Esq; since then deceas'd, and the Reverend Mr. *John Jeffery*, was most obligingly communicated to me, together with Copies of the Letters abovementioned, by *Charles Firebrace* of *Melford Hall*, Esq; the worthy Grandson of Sir *Henry*, faithfully transcribed by Mr. *Jeffery* from the Originals in Mr. *Firebrace's* Hands. It was no Doubt upon this Royal Recommendation, that long before this Certificate thereof bears Date, that Loyal Gentleman attended upon King *Charles the Second* in his Exile: Upon the Restoration he was made Sir *Henry Firebrace*, and Clerk of the Kitchen to his Majesty, which Post he enjoyed all that and the next Reign, but not complying with the Revolution, retired then from Court, and died about four Years after; leaving two Sons, the Rev. Dr. *Henry Firebrace* sometime Fellow of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, and Sir *Basil Firebrace*, Bart. now living, Father of the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of *Denbigh*, and of *Charles Firebrace*, Esq; abovementioned, who had the Honour to have King *Charles the Second* for his Godfather, and to whom I take this Opportunity of returning my humble Thanks, not only for the Communication of those invaluable Letters, which he had from the Doctor his Uncle, who made him his Heir; but for that most obliging manner in which he was pleased to do it, sending a Servant up to *London* on Purpose to fetch them down from among his Papers here, and have them transcribed for my Use.

provided a Vessel, and laid Horses in proper Places, used their utmost Endeavours, though without ^a Success, to procure a
 Means

^a The Account of this Attempt, and the unhappy Occasion of its Miscarriage, will from his Majesty's own Letters, and that worthy Gentleman's concern'd therein (*App. N^o I. 1, 2, &c.*) appear in somewhat a different Light from what we have in my *L. Clarendon's* History, and others that wrote from him. The Sum of that noble Historian's Account is this; that Captain *Rolph*, one of the Agitators, and a Creature of *Cromwell's*, having imparted to Mr. *Osborne*, the King's Gentleman Usher, his Design against his Majesty's Life; and in order to the Execution of it, which he despaired of during the King's Confinement in the Isle of *Wight*, invited *Osborne* to assist him in contriving his Majesty's Escape, and *Osborne* by the King's Approbation joining with *Rolph* to contrive it, when his Majesty had privately sawed the Bar of the Window in sunder, and all Things being now ready, the Night was appointed for executing the Design: His Majesty coming to the Window at Midnight, and putting himself out, discerned more Persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thence suspecting some Discovery, shut the Window, and retir'd to Bed. *And this* (says his Lordship) *was all the Ground of a Discourse, which then flew Abroad, as if the King had got half out of the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and so was compell'd to call out for Help, which was a meer Fiction.* (*Hist. Vol. 3. p. 233.*) How far that Report was a meer Fiction will be seen by and by: It is true, the King's Letters say nothing of his Majesty's sticking in the Window; but for all that it is most evident from those Letters, that my Lord *Clarendon's* Account of this Matter was not *all the Ground of that Report*, for in the first of them the King says expressly, *that the Narrowness of the Window was the only Impediment of his Escape*; and Mr. *Echard* says as expressly, *that his Majesty endeavoured to get out of his Window by a Cord, but unfortunately stuck in the Window, and that it was with great Difficulty he got back again, as Firebrace* (says he) *informs us in his Memoirs.* (*Hist. Vol. 2. Book 2. ch. v. p. 647*) but then he says nothing of sawing the Bar of the Window; but makes this a different Attempt from that wherein *Rolph* was concerned, and the Bar cut; and in his Account of the Miscarriage of this latter, follows my Lord *Clarendon*, saying,

Means of Escape for the King from out of this long noisome Confinement.

Whilst this Plot was laying in the Isle of *Wight* for his Majesty's Escape out of Prison,

saying, that some Discovery was made by those concerned in it, so that if his Majesty had proceeded, he would have been shot dead by one *Rolph*, a bloody Captain, got ready for that Purpose. The Memoirs quoted by Mr. *Echard* are Sir *Henry Firebrace's*, directed by way of a Letter to Sir *George Lane*, Knt. Secretary to the Duke of *Ormond*, said in the Title (I know not by what Blunder) to be written by Mr. *Thomas Firebrace*, Clerk of the Kitchen to his Majesty King *Charles* the Second, and to bear Date at *Whitehall*, July 21, 1675. though the Name subscribed to the Letter be *Henry Firebrace*, and the Date July 24, 1675. The Running Title of the Letter indeed is partly Mr. *Thomas*, and partly Mr. *Henry Firebrace's* Memoirs; but in the General Title of that Collection of Memoirs, viz. Sir *Thomas Herbert's*, Major *Huntington's*, and Colonel *Edward Coke's*, with which this Letter was published in 8^{vo}, 1702. this is called Mr. *Henry Firebrace's* Memoirs; I suppose it should be Sir *Henry*, for that Gentleman must have been Knighted long before the Date of this Letter. The Account he gives therein of this Matter, is, he says, what his Eyes and Ears were acquainted with, for that he then attended his Majesty as one of the Pages of his Bed-chamber. He had the Honour it seems to be known to the King by several Services he had done him in the Time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, at *Oxford*, and other Places; and being at *Newcastle* when the Scots delivered his Majesty to the English, and new Servants were put about him, by his Majesty's Direction he applied to some of the Commissioners, and prevailed to be admitted to that Post; in which attending his Majesty in his Confinement, he found Means to concert with him several Methods of Escape. One, he says, was, that his Majesty should come out of his Bed-chamber Window, which having found wide enough for his Head, his Majesty concluded would not be too narrow for his Body, and therefore rejected his Proposal of making it a little wider, for fear that should Occasion a Discovery. Mr. *Worsley* (the late Sir *Edward*) Mr. *Richard Osborne*

son, the People in every County begin to repine and murmur at the hard Usage of their dearest Sovereign and even to raise Tumults.

borne abovementioned, and Mr. *John Newland* of *Newport*, were all engaged in the Secret, and very faithful, the two former waiting on Horseback beyond the Counterscarp with a good Horse, &c. for his Majesty, to carry him to *Newland's* Boat that was ready, and Mr. *Firebrace* prepared to receive him, as he was to let himself down by a Cord from the Window, and conduct him cross the Court (no Centinel being in the Way) to the great Wall of the Castle, and thence let him down on a Stick by a long Cord. The Signal given, "his Majesty put himself forward, but then too late found himself mistaken, he sticking fast between his Breast and Shoulders, and not able to get forward or backward, but that at the instant before he endeavoured to get out, he mistrusted, and tied a piece of his Cord to a Bar of the Window within, by means whereof he forced himself back." This is the Account of an Ear-Witness, one that was near enough to *hear the King groan while he stuck*, and when by a Light which his Majesty on his retiring set in the Window, he saw what he had heard, that the Design was broken, he gave Notice thereof to those without, by throwing Stones to them from the high Wall, by which he was to have let his Majesty down, so that they went off, and no Discovery was made. This Attempt thus failing, Mr. *Firebrace* sent for Files and *Aqua fortis* from *London*, to make the Passages more easy, and to help in other Designs which he proposed: His Majesty in the same Letter to him, where he mentioned the *Narrowness of the Window* to have been the only Impediment of his Escape; having added, that *therefore some Instrument must be had to remove the Bar*; the Prosecution of which Design is the chief Subject of the following Letters, N^o. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. till in that N^o. 7. his Majesty acquaints Mr. *Firebrace*, that nothing could be done without taking away the middle Bar; and while they were concerting that and other Methods for his Escape, *Hammond* was directed from above to have a careful Eye on those about the King, which occasioned Mr. *Firebrace* and others to be dismiss'd; and in Mr. *Firebrace's* Absence that other Attempt was made, of which my

mults. They petition from all Quarters, that that wicked and rash Vote for discarding his Majesty, obtained by Force of Arms, may be recall'd and made void; and when Multitudes of their Petitioners unarm'd had been rudely treated by several Companies of Soldiers, that kept Guard at the Doors of the Parliament House, and some of them kill'd, in many Places they take up Arms. The *Scots* also under the Command of Duke *Hamilton* prepare to
make

Lord *Clarendon* gives Account, and confounds it with the former, of which it seems he had never heard. Yet Dr. *Perrinchief* in his *Life of that Prince*, p. 72. expressly mentions two Attempts made for his Deliverance by those Servants whom the Parliament had placed about him, the last, that in which *Rolph* was concerned, who waited to kill his Majesty as he should descend from his Chamber. Indeed that Author seems to have taken the Account from these Memoirs of Sir *Henry Firebrace*, to which he gave so much Credit, as to mention several other Particulars from thence; when yet their Authority seems to have wanted that Support, which his worthy Grandson has now enabled me to give them from the King's own original Letters.

* *James* the first Duke of that antient and noble Family; the first of Peerage in *Scotland*, established with an uninterrupted Succession for four hundred Years, summoned to Parliament in 1374, the fourth of King *Robert* the Second, created Earl of *Arran* in the County of *Bute*, Aug. 10, 1503, Marquess of *Hamilton* April 19, 1599, Earl of the County of *Lanark*, Lord *Marchinshire* and *Polmont*, March 31, 1639, and Duke of *Hamilton* April 12, 1643. He had assisted at the Coronation of King *Charles* the First, and carried the Sword of State before the King, was Master of his Horse, Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, Knight of the Garter, and Privy-Counsellor of both
Kingdoms;

make an Irruption into *England*, join'd with a choice Battalion of Northern Men by ^u Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, a Person of
extraor-

Kingdoms; had represented the King of *Bohemia*, as one of the Godfathers at the Baptism of King *Charles* the Second: He made this Irruption into *England* in *August* 1648. (Sir *Thomas Herbert* places his Entrance into *England* on the 13th of *July* that Year, *Memoirs* p. 50, 56. which he elsewhere calls the first Week in *July*, *ibid.* p. 53.) He was defeated by *Cromwell* and *Lambert*, and taken Prisoner the 17th of that Month (*viz.* *August*) and soon after the King's Murther was beheaded in old *Palace-Yard Westminster*, being the first that followed his Master in that glorious Cause. His Grandson, Father of the present Duke, was made Duke of *Brandon* and Baron of *Dutton* by *Queen Anne*, *September* 10, 1711, and killed in a Duel *November* 15, 1712. See *British Compend. or Rudiments of Honour*, Part 2. p. 16, &c. Sir *Richard Manly's* *Coment. de Rebell. Anglic.* Lib. 2. p. 200. *Crawford's* *Peerage of Scotland*, p. 186, &c. See also *Burnet's* *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*.

^u Of *Holme* in *Spaldyngmoore* in the *East-Riding* of *Yorkshire*, a Gentleman of an antient Family in that County, Knighted by King *James* the First. On King *Charles's* retiring to *York* for Safety, he repaired to him, and soon raised for his Service three Companies of Foot, and a Troop of seventy Horse at his own Charge, with which he defeated a strong Party of those rebellious Invaders the *Scots* at *Corbridge* in *Northumberland*. Next he routed Colonel *Roffeter*, the Great Rebel of *Lincolnshire*, and afterwards the Lord *Fairfax*, and relieved *Pomfret* Castle, besieged by a numerous Body of the Northern Rebels. On the King's surrendring himself to the *Scots*, he retir'd beyond Sea, till another Opportunity offering it self of serving his Majesty, he came and reduced both *Berwick* and *Carlisle* to his Obedience: Afterwards he raised new Forces for his Service, did great Things, and attempted greater, at last overpower'd by the Rebels, and taken Prisoner, he escaped with Difficulty, and attended King *Charles* the Second in his Exile, and was in Consideration of his great Actions and Sufferings, by Letters Patent bearing Date at *Bruges* in *Flanders* upon the fourth Day of *February*, and the tenth Year of his Majesty's Reign (about two
Years

extraordinary Renown for the great Service he did the King. Of all these Affairs, by what Counsels and with what Success they were carried on, Mr. *Barwick* was by his own Duty and the King's Command obliged to transmit an Account to his Majesty every Week, through the Hands of Mr. *Cresset*. And here I shall beg Leave to subjoin a Letter writ me by that worthy Gentleman *Thomas Holder*, Esq; Auditor General to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, in which the Reader may find either better Authority, or further Satisfaction concerning what was done at that Time by his Friend Mr. *Barwick*, attested by one that was privy to it: The Letter Word for Word is this.

“ In the Year 1647, when his late Ma-
 “ jesty of blessed Memory was received by
 “ the Army at *Hampton Court*, when his
 “ Friends and loyal Subjects had free Access

Years before the happy Restoration) advanced to the Degree and Dignity of Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Langdale* of *Holme* in *Spaldyngmoore*, to descend to his Heirs Male. He died at *Holme* August 5, 1661, and was buried at *Sancton* near adjacent. Sir *William Dugd. Baron. Vol. 2. p. 475, 476.* He was Great Grandfather to the present Lord *Langdale. Brit. Compend. or Rud. of Honour, Vol. 1. p. 274.*

“ unto him; I did often wait upon him
 “ there, upon several Occasions for his Ser-
 “ vice, and particularly in Discharge of a
 “ great Trust committed to me by the Ho-
 “ nourable Lady ^x *Savile* (the Relict of
 “ Sir *William* ^y *Savile*) a Person of incom-
 “ parable Affection to his Majesty, of sin-
 “ gular Prudence in designing great Things
 “ for his Service, and of great Interest and
 “ Power to render them effectual, by the
 “ Adherence of many Persons of Honour,
 “ Ability, and Loyalty unto her, and par-
 “ ticularly by my late Lord ^z *Langdale*’s
 “ going along with her in all Things for
 “ his Majesty’s Service, to whose Counsels
 “ I was always privy, as one intirely trust-
 “ ed by them both, and to whose Under-
 “ takings I was as serviceable, as was in

^x *Anne*, Daughter of *Thomas* Lord *Coventry*, sometime Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and Mother of the Great Marquess of *Hallifax*, the last of that Family.

^y Of *Thornhill* in the County of *York*, Bart. Son of Sir *George Savile* of *Thornhill*, Bart. by *Mary*, Daughter of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Father of another Sir *George*, who in Consideration of his Father’s and his own faithful Services to King *Charles* the First, as well as of what he had deserved from King *Charles* the Second, was by Letters Patents (dated 13. *Jan.* 19 *Car.* 2.) made a Baron of *England* by the Title of Lord *Savile* of *Eland* in the County of *York*, and also Viscount *Hallifax*. *Dugd. Bar. Tom.* 2. p. 463.

^z See Note ^u p. 93.

†

“ my

“ my Power to be, all along the great and
 “ various Transactions and Revolutions from
 “ his Majesty’s coming to ^a *Hampton Court*,
 “ until the ^b Defeat of my Lord *Langdale’s*
 “ gallant *English* Party in Conjunction with
 “ the *Scotch* Army, that marched into
 “ *England* in the Year ^c 1648 (in pursu-
 “ ance of those great Councils held at the
 “ Isle of *Wight* for his Majesty’s Settlement,
 “ when those eminent ^d Lords Commis-
 “ sioners of *Scotland* waited upon his Ma-
 “ jesty there) and during all that Time, I kept
 “ a close Correspondence, both with my
 “ Lord *Langdale* here and abroad in *Scot-*
 “ *land*, and with my excellent Lady *Savile*
 “ and her Friends in their Designs at Home ;
 “ and for the better Management of my
 “ said Correspondence, I took up my Sta-
 “ tion in *London*, where I had an entire
 “ Acquaintance with the late Reverend
 “ Dean of *St. Paul’s*, Dr. *John Barwick*,

^a About the beginning of *September*, 1647.

^b By *Cromwell’s Army*, *August 17*, 1648, as he tells you by and by.

^c See Note ¹ p. 92.

^d The Earl of *Lowden* Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earls of *Lautherdale* and *Lanrick*: This Treaty was sign’d on the 26th of *December* 1647. See the Substance of it. *Clarend. Hist.* Vol. 3. B. x. p. 103, &c.

who,

“ who, as he was a Person of great Zeal
 “ towards his Majesty, so he was of great
 “ Correspondence also with many Lords,
 “ and other eminent Persons of the King’s
 “ Party ; and besides that, of indefatigable
 “ Industry in the Service of his Majesty ;
 “ to promote which, he and I did often
 “ meet twice or thrice in a Week, and
 “ sometimes oftner, and communicated to
 “ each other what we had to make Use of
 “ from Time to Time for his Majesty’s Ser-
 “ vice ; and some Post Days, when I was
 “ in Danger, he was pleased to go him-
 “ self, and take up my Letters and Pac-
 “ kets at the Post-Office, and bring them
 “ to me, and stay with me, until I had
 “ deciphered them, to give him the Con-
 “ tents thereof, that he might serve him-
 “ self of what was fitting amongst his Cor-
 “ respondents. And twice by his Means
 “ I procured Conveyance of Dispatches
 “ to, and of Returns from his sacred Ma-
 “ jesty, in the Time of no Address to him
 “ in the Isle of *Wight*, touching some Dif-
 “ ficulties that did arise in some of his
 “ Majesty’s Affairs within my Correspon-
 “ dences ; and he told me since, that he
 “ was beholden to one Mr. *Cresset*, for ef-
 “

“fecting that Matter of so great an Un-
 “dertaking and Danger. And after I had
 “carried on my Correspondences through-
 “out the great Busineses of that Year,
 “for the most part successfullly, I was
 “at last betrayed, and by Order of the
 “*Juncto* at *Derby House*, committed
 “to close Prison; and then this worthy
 “Dean, my dear Friend and Confident, ad-
 “ventured himself, and by my Contrivance
 “got to whisper with me through the
 “Chinks of a Door nailed up, and the
 “Hangings before it turned by, in the
 “Chamber next to mine in *the Petrehouse*,
 “where Major *Polwheel* was Prisoner up-
 “on the King’s Account, by whose Fa-
 “vour we conferred together; of which I
 “made

° The Lord *Petre*’s House made a Prison, *Walker’s Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c. Part 1. p. 57.

† He had been Fellow of *Exeter College* in *Oxford*, ejected by the Parliament Visitors in 1648. For that he was the same *Degorie Pollwhele* mentioned by Mr. *Wood* to have been created Doctor of Physick in that University, *August 7, 1660*, by virtue of the Chancellor’s Letters, seems evident from the following Account of him given in those Letters, *viz.* That he the said *D. Pollwhele* (as his Name is there written) had from the beginning of the late unhappy Troubles vigorously and faithfully served his Majesty under the Command of *Ralph Lord Hopton*, then of *Sir James Smith*, in the Quality of a Major of Horse, and continued

“ made this good Use, that by my Directi-
 “ ons the Dean found all my Cyphers, Pa-
 “ pers, &c, and burnt them ; and at my
 “ Request, he also expos'd himself to give
 “ Intimation to some worthy honest Gen-
 “ tlemen (though Strangers to him) who
 “ had very faithfully acted with me in ma-
 “ ny Things, to provide for their own Se-
 “ curity ; which I was very desirous that
 “ they might have Notice of ; because I
 “ had heard them threaten'd by those, in
 “ whose Custody I then was. And when
 “ I saw my self thus shut up, and past
 “ Hopes of coming again to be farther ser-
 “ viceable to his Majesty, I asked the good
 “ Doctor, if he would adventure and en-
 “ gage himself to carry on my Correspon-
 “ dences (not knowing then what had be-
 “ fallen our Friends in the North) which
 “ he cheerfully resolv'd of, if I would bring
 “ him into a Confidence with those Per-
 “ sons I had been engag'd with : upon

in Arms until the Surrender of Pendennis Castle, from whence he went to his late Majesty of blessed Memory, and afterwards followed his now Majesty for some Time in Holland and Flanders; and in or about the Year 1650 he returned into Cornwall, his native Country, where he betook himself to the Study and Practice of Physick, &c.
 Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 811.

“ which I gave him a short Character of
“ my most incomparable Lady *Savile* (for
“ till that Time I had never named her to
“ any Person, but whom she her self had
“ trusted) and by Letter recommended him
“ to her ; who received him with much
“ Esteem and Confidence, under the same
“ Trusts I had been with her and others.
“ And the worthy Dean going on therein
“ as I had done (but with more Abilities)
“ came at last to my Misfortune of Imprisonment, which 'tis likely might have befallen any other Person, that would have adventured to act, as he and I did, in such Times, under such Disadvantages, and with so much Danger. And for my Part, I thank God, that I held out so long as I did, till the very Day (*viz.* the 17th of *August* 1648) on which my Lord *Langdale's* Forces were worsted by *Cromwell's* Army, in fight of the *Scotch* Army; God in his Providence so ordering his Defeat and my Imprisonment on the very same Day, and thereby making an end of our Correspondence and Endeavours for his Majesty's Service together. And I must not omit, in Gratitude to the Memory of my worthy
“ Friend

“ Friend the good Dean, to acknowledge
 “ the many Comforts he afforded me du-
 “ ring my Imprisonment, and the many
 “ kind Visits and Helps after my Escape, un-
 “ til I got out of *England*.

Tho. Holder.

It was seven^h Years after the Death of my Brother *John Barwick* (when I was drawing up this short Account of his Life, and for fear of imposing either on my self or the Reader, begg'd the Assistance of that excellent Person, who had deserved so well of his King and Country, to give me what little Light he could concerning the Affairs about that Time transacted behind the Curtain) that he vouchsafed to send me this summary Account of them, in which he is pleased to speak not only candidly but honourably of the Actions of others, at the same Time that he expresses himself with great Modesty and Reserve concerning his own.

After that grievous Slaughter in the North, the Royal Cause (whereof many

^h *Viz.* About 1671, for Dr. *John Barwick* died October 22, 1664.

had conceiv'd no little Hopes, as if it had been rais'd from the Dead) was again brought to the utmost Streights; for the Countries every where in Arms were soon reduced, and their raw and unexperienced Men easily conquered by the Veteran Soldiers, who were accustomed to Victories: And some Garisons poorly fortified by the King's Party with slight Works thrown up in Haste, were forced to beg Quarter of *Cromwell's* Soldiers, and to surrender upon hard Terms. That Part also of the Fleet, which had lately returned to its Allegiance, was again corrupted by the Earl of *Warwick* (who had formerly commanded it, as long as *Cromwell* thought fit) that Earl's Chaplainⁱ abovementioned, once Mr. *Barwick's* dearest Pupil, looking on all the while, without muttering the least Word against it; not that it is to be imagined, that he approved of so foul an Action; but that he was willing it should be thought inconsistent with the Duty of a Minister of God's Word, to concern himself with what he called State Affairs. But this Conduct of

ⁱ Mr. *Anthony Walker*, p. 16.

his was a great Grief of Mind to his affectionate Tutor, who had hoped to receive better Fruits of those excellent Principles he had in his Youth instill'd into his Mind, which was naturally disposed to do no Hardship to any one.

The good King, when his Affairs were again desperate, as he had before by Word of Mouth testified his Sense and Approbation of Mr. *Barwick's* Readiness and Ability. to serve him, now by a Letter written in his own Hand, and sent to him by Mr. *Cresset*, graciously and of his own Accord condescended to give a most ample and honourable Testimony of the Service he had done him in his most difficult and arduous Affairs ; as if what he and other Persons of great Worth had heartily though unsuccessfully endeavoured for his Majesty's Relief, when reduced to the greatest Distress, this their most gracious Prince was willing to look upon, not only as their Duty, but as a very great Obligation to him ; and would not permit, that if his Life should happen to be taken away by the Malice and Violence of his Enemies, his August Family should either be unappriz'd of the unshaken Loyalty of such of them as should survive

this Storm, or hesitate to make use of their Advice and Assistance towards bringing about a happy Restoration, if at length it should please God to favour it. But after this Shipwreck, the King had one Plank left, alas! too dangerous to trust to: For when *Cromwell* thought it adviseable after the *Scots* were ^k put to flight, to march himself immediately into *Scotland*, and surprize that Country, the more conveniently to prevent his Enemy's new Recruits; all such Members of Parliament as had been lately turned out of the House, took the Opportunity of this Conjunction to repose themselves of their Seats there, and with their late Wisdom began to lend their Ears, hitherto perfectly deaf, to the Petitions for restoring Peace and the King, especially when the City of *London*, by whose Assistance they had subdued him, almost all to a Man (except a few ordinary Fellows of neither Name nor Substance) had joined in the same Petitions, and set their Hands to them. This new Attempt for the King's Restoration, Mr. *Barwick* by his Majesty's

^k *August* 17, 1648. *Bates's Elench. Mot. Part* 1. p. 88, and 135.

Command concerted with Sir *Thomas Middleton* of *Wales*, and Mr. *Richard Brown* Citizen of *London*, both mentioned above, and both of great Authority in the House, (now the Army was so far off) and both for some Time since very well affected to the King's Service. Nor was it long, e'er by their Help and that of some other honest Members, both the new Vote of not addressing the King was repeal'd, and a Treaty with his Majesty agreed upon, but the Place of Treaty to be the Isle of *Wight*, where *Cromwell's* Party might easily disturb all Things at Pleasure, as they afterwards did; not in the Parliament House, nor in the Palace near it (which had been more convenient for such as desired Peace) for fear the neighbouring City of *London*, heretofore the Parliament's surest Safeguard, should of a sudden become as much too favourable to the King, as they had hitherto been too zealous against him. What Mr. *Barwick* did more with relation to this Treaty, I never learnt; only that I remember to have heard him say, he had gone from *London* to the Isle of *Wight* in one Day, and returned thence to *London* in the same Space of Time, without being tired: So willingly and with so much

much Expedition was he used to execute the King's Commands; with so good a Habit of Body for bearing Fatigue was he then endowed, though not much used to ride, except it were about his Majesty's Business.

Hitherto with as much Brevity as I could, I have given a summary Account of what Service Mr. *Barwick* did, whether in gaining the King the Affection of his Enemies, or in discovering their Designs against him, or in promoting the Endeavours of his Friends on his Behalf. I shall now give a *Specimen* of the constant Pains he took, as Opportunity offered, to deliver his fellow Subjects from that most grievous Tyranny they groaned under: A Work, though not so difficult and full of Danger as those others, yet no less acceptable to his most excellent Majesty, who was more solicitous for his People's Safety, than for his own. The good Offices he did to Mr. *Holder*, when he was taken up for transgressing that novel Law against corresponding with the King, we have had an Account of above from that worthy Gentleman himself; to which may be added his great Humanity to that most upright and excellent
Divine,

Divine, Mr. *William Lacy*, who (as was said ¹ above) was one of those that joined to write against the *solemn League and Covenant*; but being afterwards taken in the War, and confined to a noisome Prison, where he was very barbarously treated, and reduced to great Want, Mr. *Barwick* relieved and supported him, when a certain ^m Doctor of Physick of no little Note, and much

¹ Page 36.

^m This was in all Probability Dr. *Robert Wittie*, found upon the same Register with Mr. *Lacy*, both of them Bachelors of Arts, *Anno* 1632, and Masters of Arts *Anno* 1636, so that they were both of the same standing. He took not his Degree indeed of Doctor of Physick till 1647, which must have been after Mr. *Lacy* was taken Prisoner, but is mentioned upon the Register *practising Physick* in King's College 1641, and may be stiled Doctor of Physick either on that Account, or as having actually taken that Degree long before the writing of this Life. It is not indeed so certain, that he was *born in the same Town* with Mr. *Lacy*, and *educated in the same School*, as that he was of the *same University* (for that I suppose my Author means by *in iisdem Studiis Grammaticalibus, in iisdem Artibus Academicis juxta cum eo educatus*) and of the same standing: His Admission might shew this; but though he seems to have been originally of King's College, yet not having been upon the Foundation, and their Register admitting no others, he is not to be found there: but he was bred in the same School with Sir *John Micklethwait*, President of the College of Physicians, a *Yorkshire* Man born (*Wood, East. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 885.*) which School, as it was therefore likely in that County, so it is not improbable on that Account, that he was also a *Yorkshire* Man, which might likewise be the Reason of his living most of his Time in that County, practising Physick eighteen Years together with Dr. *James Primrose* at *Kingsston* upon *Hull*, and after Dr. *Primrose's*

much better able than Mr. *Barwick*, who was also of great Authority with the Rebels, and had always lived with Mr. *Lacy* from their Youth, in the strictest League of Intimacy and Friendship, having been born in the same Town with him, and educated in the same School and in the same University, yet most shamefully deserted his old Friend in this his Extremity ; so far at that Time had the Zeal of their new Superstition divested of all Humanity the Minds of Men, that were neither barbarous in their Nature, nor destitute of the Advantages of Education.

Primrose's Death carrying on his Practice there, and in the Neighbourhood for several Years with good Success. (*Wood ibid.*) If he was born at *Beverley*, as we suppose, that might determine him to spend so much of his Time in that Neighbourhood, especially to have first set up there. He himself mentions his being in *Yorkshire* the three dry Years 1654, 1655, 1656. (*Pyrologia Mimica* p. 283) and he practised in the Capital City there *Anno* 1669, as appears from the Date of his Dedication of that Book. His great Friendship with Dr. *Primrose* above-mentioned, whom he styles his intimate Friend and Collegue (*Pyrol. Mim.* p. 174.) and his dear Friend (*ibid.* p. 213.) and Dr. *Primrose's* writing against Dr. *Harvey's* Discovery of the Circuation of the Blood, which Dr. *Barwick* undertook to defend, makes it yet more probable, that Dr. *Barwick* meant this Friend of his Antagonist: though I must do Dr. *Wittie* the Justice to own, that he was not of Dr. *Primrose's* side in that Dispute, but speaks very honourably of Dr. *Harvey's* Discovery, both in the Preface to his *Pyrologia Mimica*, and in the Book it self (p. 247.) I shall determine nothing upon the whole, but leave the Matter to the Judgment of the Reader.

It would not be difficult here to mention a great many others, whom Mr. *Barwick* assisted as far as he was able with his Purse, and with his Advice, wherewith he was much more able. One, who may serve for all, I can by no Means pass by, the brave Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, renown'd among the chief Assertors of their oppressed Country's Liberties; who after the Defeat of the King's Forces in the North, unhappily falling into the Hands of the Rebels, was (as a Victim ready to be sacrificed at their execrable Altars, if he had not escap'd) soon to have been executed before the Walls of *Pomfret*, to strike Terror into the Soldiers of the Garison; for the Rebels were beyond Measure exasperated, because some of the King's Party, who joined in Sir *Marmaduke's* late Expedition, had by Surprise made themselves Masters of that strong Fortrefs, their chief Garison in the North, and had hitherto, after the King's Affairs were ruined every where else, defended it bravely for his Majesty against a very obstinate Siege of the Rebels.

When this Loyal Garison heard, that their dear Commander Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was condemn'd to die, they left no Stone

Stone unturn'd, by a Sally, if possible, to surprize some Person of Note in the Rebels Camp, and by that Means either redeem their captive General by an Exchange, or else (what they thought not inconsistent with the right of War) revenge his Death by a like Execution. But it was hard to accomplish such a Design, by Reason of the great Number of Forces wherewith they were besieg'd; and to have attempted it with a numerous Body of Men, had certainly been in vain: They send therefore by Night to *Doncaster*, a fortified Town and the head Quarters of the Besiegers, a small Party of about thirty Horse, who pretend to bring Letters from General *Cromwell* to *Rainsborough*, his Lieutenant General, the chief Commander in this Siege: They rush suddenly into *Rainsborough's* Chamber, and because he refused to surrender, they kill him, and having done this, make their Way through the thickest Guards of their Enemies, and all return to their Friends safe. There was no Doubt but this bold and brave Action would add new Rancor to the Rebels Malice, which had been so lately provoked by the Surprize
of

of *Pomfret* Castle, and hasten Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* Death, if he were not relieved with all Speed; which induced the excellent Lady *Savile* to employ all her Thoughts (and no one had a better Head) to contrive the Means of his Escape, as she had already done with good Success, those for surprizing ° the Castle now mentioned, and for seizing^p *Rainsborough* in his Quarters. Nor did her usual good Fortune fail her in this other Attempt: For she found out such proper Hands by Presents to mollify the Guards, and invented so feasible a Way for his Escape, that Sir *Marmaduke* got out of Prison with little Difficulty to himself, and not much Censure to his Keepers from the Rebels their Masters. Thus delivered from his Confinement, he lay hid in a Hay-stack for some Weeks, in the open Air; but when the Rebels were at last weary of hunting after him, he goes to *London* to Mr. *Barwick*, disguis'd in the Habit of a Clergyman, with which he was accommodated by that most holy Man and excellent Divine

° P See a short Account of both these gallant Actions, in a Letter to a Friend, written by Captain *Thomas Paulden*, who had an honourable Share in them both; and reprinted for his Widow, 4^{to}, L. 1719.

Mr. *Barnabas Oley* [¶] abovementioned. Under Mr. *Barwick's* Protection he absconded in the same Habit, as one that had been driven away from his Benefice by the *Irish* Rebels, and remained safe, till he found a convenient Opportunity of passing over the Sea.

That illustrious Heroine the Lady *Savile* was always suspected by *Cromwell's* Party, not only to be privy to these noble Atchievements, but to be the Author and Director of them all: yet they could never come to a certain Knowledge of this, though they laid their Snares on all sides to entrap her, and made no doubt but she would at length be taken therein, and their ardent Desire of destroying her be accomplished. This gallant Lady, famous even for her warlike Actions beyond her Sex, had a little before been besieg'd by the Rebels in *Sheffield* [†] Castle, which they battered on all Sides by great Guns, though she was big with Child, and had so little Regard for her Sex, that in that Condition they refused a Midwife she had sent for, the Liberty of going to

[¶] Page 26.

[†] In the *West-Riding* of *Yorkshire*.

her. Yet this unheard of Barbarity was so far from moving her, that she resolved to perish rather than surrender the Castle: But the Walls being every where full of Cracks with Age, and ready to fall, the Soldiers of the Garison began to mutiny; not so much concerned for their own Danger, as for the lamentable Condition of this noble Lady, so near the Time of her falling in Labour; for she was brought to Bed the Night after the Castle was surrendred: Thus the most generous and magnanimous Persons, such as the Lady *Savile* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who attempted nothing mean nor unbecoming the glorious Cause they had espous'd, thought fit to concert Measures with Mr. *Barwick*; whose Endeavours to serve the same Cause they knew were both acceptable and useful to the King.

But now, at length, after all the King's Forces were subdued, not in *Scotland* only but in *England*, except those few brave Men in *Pomfret* Castle; his Majesty now entirely conquered and brought under the Yoke, was past all Hopes of Relief, either from the private Endeavours of his Friends, or from the publick and most solemn Engagements

of his Enemies; for from the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, by the sacrilegious Hands of the Rebels, he is hurried away to the Scaffold. On this sad Occasion Mr. *Barwick*, among others of the best Subjects, deserved this peculiar Praise, that he would not despair of the Restoration of the Monarchy, though now utterly overthrown and trod under Foot; but resolved to employ the same Endeavours, and that with the same Hazard of his Life, for the Cause now it was evidently ruined, which he had hitherto used in its Behalf, when it was only tottering and in Danger. But while he was doing this, he fell into a very dangerous Distemper, contracted (as is most probable) from that Excess of Grief, which the unspeakable Loss of his most gracious Master the King brought upon him: For Day and Night he was harassed with a continual Cough, followed by spitting of Blood, and afterwards by a Consumption of his Lungs, and a wasting and pining away of his whole Body: Yet this Distemper could not interrupt the daily Correspondence he maintained by Letters with the King's Ministers now in Exile with their new Master King *Charles* the Second, divested of his three Kingdoms. And when

when a certain ^r Friend, who had always been most dear to him, and who studied Physick, advised him to lay aside his publick Cares for some Time, that he might better attend the Recovery of his Health; he gave him this Answer: You know, says he, that this Disease of mine is not of that Sort, which uses to yield to Medicines; and yet if it were never so curable, that the publick Affairs of the whole Kingdom ought by all Means to be preferred before my private Interest; adding, that if it should please God, he would not be unwilling to die in the very Exercise of his Duty. But this was obtained from him, that one of his two Brothers, who were both then in *London*, and both Persons he could safely trust, should be permitted in his stead to attend the Post-Office on such Days as Letters came in or went out, to the end that he, whose Interest it was to keep himself close, might be less seen Abroad; and that he might have more Time for writing his Dispatches, which were of much Importance to the King's Af

^r Most probably our Author himself, Dr. *Peter Barwick*, his Brother.

fairs ; and also left by wearying his consumptive Body with too much stirring out, he should hasten his Death, which seemed to be but too near. One of those Brothers of his was *Edward*, that Citizen of *London* mentioned above ^f to have followed the Trade of Herald-Painting ; the other was only a Sojourner lately come out of the Country, who had stay'd some Months in Town, to attend upon his consumptive Brother. It was thought most convenient, that he, who after six Months longer stay in *London* was to return into the Country, should undertake this Business during his Stay, that his other Brother *Edward* might reserve himself more entirely for it, when it should come to lye wholly upon him, if their sick Brother in the mean Time should sink under the Employment, worn out with his Distemper and Business. This Mr. *Edward Barwick* was a Person of eminent Zeal for his Country, that had with great Courage performed the Office of an Ensign in the Company of the Honourable Colonel *James Bellingham* (who in the late Nor-

thern Expedition commanded a Regiment for the King under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*) and after that gallant Army of North Countrymen was routed and put to flight, taking his Colours from the Staff, he tied them round his Wafte, and brought them safe to his Colonel. Six Months after Mr. *Barwick* was first seiz'd with his Illness, the Care of his Health was wholly intrusted to his dearest Friend Dr. *John Wederborn* of *Scotland*, who as he was formerly Physician to the King, so was he afterwards most deservedly distinguished with the Honour of Knight-hood.

But the Care of carrying on the Correspondence by Letters, which Mr. *John Barwick* had constantly managed, is now wholly committed to his Brother *Edward*; who had hardly executed this Office two Months, before one *Bostock*, a poor-spirited artificial Fellow, who belonged to the Post-Office, though engaged by frequent Presents, and esteemed very hearty in the King's Interest, yet in all likelihood corrupted with larger Presents by those in Power, treacherously

* Mr. *Wood* makes very honourable mention of him. *Faſti Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 735, 736.

delivered up both the Brothers, Mr. *John* and Mr. *Edward Barwick*, into the Hands of the Rebels, together with some Letters that came from the King's Ministers abroad. The Letters were superscribed to a feigned Name, *viz.* to Mr. *James Van Delft*, Dutch Merchant in *London*. Mr. *John Barwick* endeavoured to clear his Brother *Edward* of those Letters, and take all the Blame of them upon himself; yet neither of the Brothers would own himself much concerned in Letters directed to another Name, but would not deny them neither, only insisted, that it was unjust to oblige them to accuse themselves, contrary to the Laws lately made by the Rebel-Parliament, when they repealed that which was called the Oath *ex Officio*. But *Bostock* was not afraid to make *Affidavit* in the most solemn manner, that this very Mr. *Edward Barwick* had constantly every Week fetched Letters from his Office directed to Mr. *James Van Delft*, and that for seven Months past; whereas he had had no Intercourse with that Office more than seven Weeks. The Right Reverend Bishop of *Durham* being reduced to great Streights, and driven out of his noble Palace by the Rebels, was obliged to retrench

retrench his Family, and live in less Compass than heretofore, only with one or two Servants. On this Occasion Mr. *Barwick*, his Lordship's Chaplain, had taken private Lodgings, which he used often to change, and by that Means had escaped the Search of the Enemy, with all their Sagacity, 'till the Holy Week of the Year 1650: Nor had he ever intermitted the Duty he owed to his exiled Sovereign and oppressed Country, although he had now for six or seven Months almost every other Week thrown up vast Quantities of Blood from his Lungs, labouring under the Violence of a perpetual Cough, and almost worn to nothing with a Consumption; insomuch that a little before this Imprisonment, by the Assistance of his dearest Friend Mr. *John Otway*, formerly

* Son of Mr. *Roger Otway* of *Sedberg* in *Yorkshire*, Gentleman, admitted Pensioner of that College at the Age of sixteen, *June 3, 1636*, and made Fellow *March 24, 1635*, (*Regr. Coll. Job.*) ejected by the Earl of *Manchester*, *March 15, 1643*, for refusing to take the solemn League and Covenant, and other Misdemeanors, as the Warrant for his Ejection expresseth it, without mentioning what they were: But what our Author says of his heroic Loyalty a few Pages hence, sufficiently accounts for all his Misdemeanors, the chief of which no doubt was his taking Arms for the King, which probably he did soon after his Ejection. On his Majesty's return he was Knighted, and having studied the Law became temporal Chancellor to the Bishop of

merly Fellow of *St. John's College in Cambridge*, but then Student of *Grey's-Inn*, he had prepared himself a burying Place, where, according to the Rites of the Church of *England* then by the Usurpation almost every where abolished, he might by his Friends be decently interr'd, as he expected to be very soon. But he that had for above eight Years employed all his Cares for the Service of the Publick, in Affairs for the most part of great Difficulty, and with good Success, being now at last detected, is hurried away to an Examination before those in Power; who were not ashamed to threaten with Torture one already more than half dead, if he would not without the least Hesitation or Delay, immediately discover all that were his Accomplices in this Undertaking. But he, who (as they well knew) would never acknowledge for Laws, the military Resolves

Durham, and left a fair Estate to his two Sons by different Venters, the one *Dr. Charles Otway*, LL. D. many Years Fellow of *St. John's College in Cambridge*. where he died *January 27, 1720-1*, (whom I must always mention with Respect for the great Encouragement he gave to the Latin Edition of this Life) the other *Brathwait Otway*, Esq; sometime Fellow-Commoner of the same College, and now Counsellor of *Grey's-Inn*. See *Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 149.*

of these new Lords, made no Scruple to answer undauntedly, that neither he himself, nor any others with whom he had entertained Friendship, had done any Thing that he knew repugnant to the Laws of his Country; and that if any Thing should possibly be extorted from him to the contrary by the Force of Torments, which that dry and bloodless Carcase they saw of his might not be able to bear, it ought by all Means to pass for nothing: His Brother *Edward* they examine separately, and deal something more mercifully with him, threatening him only with Death; yet they charge them both with Contumacy, and rage vehemently against them, having suborn'd what false Witnesses they could; but neither the Royal Cause, nor any one Person that maintained it, suffered the least Prejudice or Injury thereby; for Mr. *John Barwick* (before the Messengers who came to apprehend them could break open his Door, which he always kept bolted) had instantly committed to the Flames his Cyphers, and all sorts of Papers relating to the King's Business (not excepting those very Letters abovementioned, written to him with so much Goodness by his late Majesty) notwithstanding that

he was sufficiently appriz'd, how greatly this must exasperate the Rebels Malice and Rage against him. By this Means it came to pass, that they were not able to gather any Thing they desired out of the hidden Sense of those Letters, which by *Bostock's* Treachery fell into their Hands ; yet both the Brothers, the elder as found Guilty of High-Treason, the younger as suspected of it, are by a Warrant of the ninth of *April* 1650, sign'd by *Bradshaw* President of the New Republick, thrust into noisome Dungeons in the *Gate-House* of *Westminster*. But to consult Brevity, as far as a Subject so prolix will give leave, they were both treated with so much Hardship and Indignity in their close Confinement, and so streightly shut up from any Relief or Assistance of their Friends, that far from administring in any kind toward their Subsistence, it was not possible for any Friend, during the Space of some Days, so much as to ask how they did, or whether they were alive, without the Mortification of suffering the like close Imprisonment for some Time. But after a few Weeks *Mr. Edward Barwick*, when almost destroyed with Cold and Hunger, as being the less Offender of the two (in the

Opinion of those who used them so cruelly) and only employed by his Brother, is let out of Prison, upon Security given to return thither on their first Summons. But alas! the barbarous Treatment he had undergone brought upon him two grievous Distempers, the Stone and a consumptive Cough, of which he soon after died, giving up his Life a glorious Sacrifice to the Interest of the King and Kingdom, a young Man of exemplary Piety, born for the Service of his Country: But the Rebels vent their utmost Fury on his Brother *John*, as guilty of the highest Treason (forsooth) against their upstart Common-wealth.

He had hardly been three Days confined, but he was again brought to Examination: He that cried out loudest for putting him to the Torture, was Sir *Henry Mildmay*, who in Wickedness, Abusiveness, and cruel Threatning was almost superior to that most impudent Brawler *Bradshaw* himself. It was that very *Mildmay*, who having been Knighted by King *Charles* the First, made Master of his Jewel-House, and distinguished by other envied Marks of his Favour, was not yet afraid to imbrue his sacrilegious Hands in the Blood of that his most gracious and munificent

munificent Master, by an Instance of Ingratitude, as well as Impiety, monstrous beyond all Example. But when they found their Prisoner was not to be frightened with Threats, they tried more than once to allure him with Promises, making him diverse magnificent Offers, if he would ingenuously and candidly discover what Plots he had been privy to against their Common-Wealth: But the Integrity of his Mind was in no Danger from any Attacks of this Nature: O that his Body had been as impregnable to those of his Distemper! When therefore he was not to be wrought upon by any of their Allurements, they renewed their Threatnings with more Violence. Yet they thought it not advisable to put him to the Torture, a Barbarity in this Age unheard of in *England*, and he reduced to a meer Shadow: they chose rather to leave him to perish by his Distemper; more solicitous to preserve themselves from the Odium of so barbarous a Cruelty, than touched with the least Sense of Humanity; for lest his Illness should not dispatch him soon enough, they resolve to hasten his Destruction by a most loathsome Confinement, but in another Prison; for by a Warrant under *Bradshaw's*
own

own Hand, dated the 12th of *April* 1650, they order Mr. *Francis West* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, to take into his Custody this dying Person, and before he could breath out his last, bury him as it were in some Dungeon of that Prison, secluded from the Company of all Mankind, but of a stern morose Jaylor. Nor after all this did they desist from their cruel Threatnings; for they gave this Reason for changing his Prison, and confining him in the Tower, that he might be nearer to the Rack, kept there to torture such incorrigible Rebels, as they esteemed him: They threatned to send Commissioners soon after, who by that Method should extort from him a Confession of all the wicked Plots (they said) he had been hatching: Nor indeed, as false and perfidious as they were in other Instances, did they use to fail the least Tittle of what they threatned. But Mr. *Barwick's* Hopes soar'd higher, than to be the least affected with their dire Menaces: In all Difficulties he still preserved his Mind firm and undejected; and at that Time fortified his Faith and Patience with this pious Reflection, that upon the very same Day, according to the Computation of the Church, Christ had endured

dured more grievous Sufferings for him ; for it was on *Good-Friday* that all this was done ; and at the same Hour of that Day, wherein Christ is recorded to have been buried, he was shut up in this Dungeon, as I find noted by him in his Diary, *West* was not only so observant of the Orders he had received, as to keep his Prisoner from the Speech of all his Friends, but was careful by Boards nailed up against his Window, to intercept the free Air, the only Relief to his wasted Lungs, and forbad him the use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, and of all other Books but the Bible. Indeed all this had been expressly and by Name forbidden him in a former Order given to the Keeper of the *Gate-House* at *Westminster* : But the Lieutenant of the *Tower* officiously performed this grateful Service to his Masters, altogether besides their written Orders ; and for many Months debarred his Prisoner not only of all the Pleasures of Life, but almost of what was barely necessary to support it. Nor in the mean Time did the Rebels contribute the least Farthing to keep him from starving, after they had robb'd him of all his Substance : Nay, nor did they suffer any Relief, provided by his Friends for his Subsistence, to be

be conveyed to him, unless some one Person were deputed to do that good Office, and of whom the new Common-Wealth (as they call'd it) should have sufficient Security, that under this Pretext he should do them no Mischief. The Person who at last was by these jealous Wretches permitted to undertake this Office for his Friend, was one, who as well as *Dr. Barwick*, had not long since been a Servant to the Bishop of *Durham*. Yet *Mr. Barwick* had Reason afterwards to complain of Wrong done him in the Payments he made, tho' he had a valuable Consideration for performing that Service. But they never allowed this Person to come to their Prisoner, but when his Keeper *West* was at Leisure, or in the Humour, to be there with him, to prevent any private Discourse between them. *Mr. Barwick*, who of all Men living had been least used to indulge his Appetite, now lived more sparingly than any Mortal, after he had contracted this Illness: The Diet he used was Herbs or Fruit, or thin Water-gruel made of Oatmeal or Barley with Currans boil'd in it, and sweeten'd with a little Sugar; and this he used to cook himself in the Prison, to help pass away the Time. As he was al-

ways

ways very abstemious, so he now refrained from all sorts of made Drink, whether Wine or Beer, or any other fermented Liquor, quenching his Thirst with nothing but Spring Water: Nor did he live thus poorly, because he could not afford to fare better (which yet many imagined, and one^t has written) but partly because the State of his Health required this; partly because he was unwilling either with Envy or Expence to load his Friends, that were kind enough to him; for there were not wanting those, who took Care privately to relieve the Necessities of a Person, that had deserved so well of his Country: And the King himself, of all Men the most compassionate, though depriv'd of his three Kingdoms, and living an Exile in a strange Land, was so good to take this Matter particularly into his own Care; for out of a thousand Pounds at that Time generously contributed to his Majesty's Subsistence by the Lady *Savile*, the good King ordered two hundred to be immediately employed for Mr. *Barwick's* Relief. Indeed his Majesty had so great a

^t *Lloyd, Memoirs, p. 610.*

Regard for this good Man's Fidelity, preserved under the greatest Difficulties, that he would willingly have purchased his Liberty with that of a certain impious *Assassin*, who had laid wait for his sacred Life, as Dr. *Barwick* himself afterwards gratefully acknowledged in an Epistle Dedicatory to the King, prefixt to his Life of Bishop *Morton*. And when his Majesty with his *Scotch* Army was encamp'd at *Worcester*, and he that writes this, a few Days before that unhappy Fight, throwing himself at his Royal Feet, lightly mentioned among other Things, the Confinement of Mr. *Barwick*, most dear to him on many Accounts; his Majesty with a generous Warmth of Mind vouchsafed to return this Answer.

“ I well know that faithful Servant, and
 “ hearty honest Man, who for my sake, and
 “ that of all my loyal Subjects has been
 “ treated with great Indignity, and suffer-
 “ ed the utmost Hardships: But now, says
 “ he, the Time is at Hand, when I shall
 “ either with these Arms succour him, and
 “ the rest of my dearest Friends, that groan
 “ under the cruel Yoke of this Usurpation,
 “ or willingly lay down this Life for them.”

But you will say, of what Importance was
 K it,

it, that his most gracious Sovereign was so solicitous for procuring the Liberty of this Subject of his from the grievous Oppression of his most deadly Enemies? when at the same Time his Life it self was almost utterly despaired of, from the no less grievous Oppression of his Distemper, and this even before the miserable Estate to which that had reduced him, was sadly augmented by the Severity of his Confinement: And indeed Mr. *Barwick* himself, of the Recovery of whose Health the Physicians had long since despair'd, thought it a Matter of little Moment, whether he drew his last Breath in a free or a close Air. But in the midst of this Distress he found very great Reason, if ever any Man did, to acknowledge and adore the wonderful Goodness of God, and return him, as he constantly did, his most humble and hearty Thanks, for his many and extraordinary Mercies to him; for in this close Confinement, he did not only experience the great Care and Concern for him of the chief of his Friends, and even of the good King himself; insomuch that beyond what his Friends were able to do for him, he wanted nothing to support his drooping Life, as long as it should please
God

God to continue it : But what far exceeded all he could either hope or wish, with those ^a Children of the *Babylonish* Captivity, abominating the rich but prophane Dainties of the Tyrant's Table, and living only upon Pulse and spring Water, he throve daily, and grew fatter with this simple Diet, to the no little Mortification of the Rebels, after he had been reduced to a meer Skeleton by the Consumption that preyed upon his Vitals : Nor yet had he made any Change, either in the Medicines prescrib'd him long before this Confinement, or in his way of Living ; only that in this Hermit's Cell he gave himself up wholly to God and Religion, intirely exempt from all publick Business, with which he had daily wasted his Strength.

Mr. *John Otway*, who (as was mentioned above ^b) had taken upon him the Care of decently interring his Friend Mr. *Barwick*, when a little before his Imprisonment his Life was almost despaired of, after he heard he was shut up so close, destitute in a manner of all the Conveniences of Life, was

^a *Dan.* i. 12, 15.

^b Page 120.

not a little affected with this unworthy Treatment of a Person he loved so well, and had been formerly bred up with in so much Friendship in the same College. And indeed he left nothing unattempted, that (as became their long Intimacy and Affection) he might administer some Relief to his dear Friend in his close Confinement, and (as he thought) in Want. But there had now passed fifteen Months, in which it had been accounted a Crime to salute him so much as at the Prison Doors. At last however, this good natured Gentleman, with a few others of *Grey's-Inn*, both his and Mr. *Barwick's* intimate Acquaintance, went boldly to *Bradshaw*, himself also a Bencher of that Inn, and begg'd that he and they might have leave to visit, and relieve, as far as it was in their Power, their old Acquaintance Mr. *Barwick*, shut up from all his Friends, destitute of Help, and afflicted with Sickness to such a Degree, that without God's peculiar Providence he must e'er that Time have sunk under the Violence of his most grievous Distemper. These good Gentlemen were most of them such, to whom *Bradshaw* either desired to seem a Friend, or at least shewed

shewed no extraordinary Hatred; for after the barbarous Murther of the King, he made it his Business to sooth and cajole as many as he could into the Interest of the new Common-wealth. But now breaking out into a violent Passion against Mr. *Barwick*, he most bitterly inveighs against him, not only as a Traytor to his Country, but as one that was guilty of the highest Contumacy, and had most ungratefully refused the Favours offered him by the Common-wealth, against which he had committed such heinous Crimes, and which might have long since most justly taken away his Life, as a capital Enemy to the Government; adding, that he wondered what evil *Genius* had induced so many Gentlemen of that Inn, his dear Collegues of whom he had conceived much better Hopes, to desire any Acquaintance with so great an Enemy and Pest of the Common-wealth. They on the other side, the better to appease his Anger, declare, that as to Mr. *Barwick's* Principles of Government, if he had offended so heinously, they came not to intercede for him: But as to the rest, that they had always looked upon him as a Person of great Goodness, Piety, and Sincerity, of

an unblameable Life, and worthy of the Kindness and Friendship of all good Men; and all that they desired at present, was, that now he was in so much need of it, they might be permitted to renew their old Acquaintance with him, who on many Accounts was most dear to them, and in that his Distress might afford him any Relief, which he desired, and they were able to give him. But *Bradshaw* gravely admonished them to be very cautious with whom they cultivated Friendship, and to have a Care of being imposed upon by any specious Pretence of Piety: He advised them particularly and above all to avoid all manner of Conversation with Mr. *Barwick*, who before the Government was well settled after the late Commotions, had endeavoured to undermine it, and was so much the more dangerous an Enemy thereto, as he attempted to overthrow it in cool Blood. For, says he, we are little afraid of those, who in Taverns, even to Madness, drink King *Charles's* Health, and wickedly devote themselves to his Service. But, continues he, if your Friend Mr. *Barwick* would at last repent, and become a faithful Subject to the Common-wealth, which he has so many

Ways

Ways injured, I am bold to say, he would find it not only merciful and gentle, but gracious and liberal, and ready to heap Favours upon him. [Then again, letting loose the Reins to his Passion; with what Enchantment, says he, has this *Barwick*, subtle Artificer of Mischief as he is, bewitched such a Company of *Grey's-Inn* Gentlemen to espouse so ill a Cause as his? They reply, that there are many Persons in that Inn, Men of known Probity, who would readily have joined with them in this Request, and were Friends to Mr. *Barwick*, probably for no other Reason, but because they esteemed him a candid Friend and a good Man, and were born in the same, or in some of the neighbouring Countries, or educated in the same University. After *Bradshaw* had sufficiently tired himself with railing in the most contumelious Terms against Mr. *Barwick*, whom he could not induce to betray either the glorious Cause he had espous'd, or those worthy Persons he knew to be engaged therein with him, neither by Threats nor Bribes] (for it was the Policy of this Arch-Rebel by turns to make use of both) at length growing a little cooler, he condescended to give leave, that one of their

Company, whomsoever they pleased to choose, should have Liberty to visit him in the Name of the rest, and carry him what friendly Message, or other charitable Relief they should think fit to send. They agree to make Mr. *Otway* their Deputy, who obtains a Warrant under *Bradshaw's* Hand to authorize *West* the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to let him in to Mr. *Barwick*. Mr. *Otway* hastens to *West* with the Warrant, and finds him very ready to comply therewith: For, says he, there is nothing I desire more, than to do Mr. *Barwick* those good Offices, which I have been hitherto restrained from doing him by my Masters at the Helm: Nor could any good Man, says he, but love and admire him, as a wonderful Example of Christian Piety, if he were not such an Enemy to the present Government. Having said this, they both hasten to Mr. *Barwick*. With what Joy he and his Friend Mr. *Otway* embraced each other at this first so long desired Meeting, is not easy to express. What added extreamly to that of the latter, was to find his dear Friend Mr. *Barwick* so much altered for the better, his Eyes so lively, his Complection so healthful, and his Body in so good Plight, that he

hardly

hardly knew him ; and being almost astonish-
 ed at the unexpected sight, “ Is this, says
 “ he, that Mr. *Barwick*, whom I saw at
 “ our last Meeting, or am I rather imposed
 “ upon by some Apparition ? ” “ Yes indeed,
 “ replied Mr. *Barwick*, you might formerly
 “ take me for a Shade, or an Apparition,
 “ or any thing of yet less Substance, my
 “ dear Mr. *Otway*, when you was so good
 “ to take upon you the Care of seeing my
 “ then wasted Body duly interr’d ; but now
 “ I am again your very Friend *Barwick*,
 “ since God of his great Mercy has sent his
 “ Spirit into *these dry Bones*, and beyond
 “ all Hope commanded them to *live* under
 “ this severe Confinement. ” After this
 friendly Salutation the Lieutenant of the
Tower left them, permitting his Prisoner
 Mr. *Barwick* to enjoy the Conversation of
 his Friend alone, without any one by ; a
 Privilege he had never once indulged him
 before , during fifteen Months Confinement,
 but had always been too officious
 a Spy upon almost every Word that came
 out of his Mouth. The Lieutenant being
 gone , Mr. *Otway* acquainted his Friend
 Mr. *Barwick* with the whole Series of the
 Discourse between *Bradshaw*, and him, and

his *Grey's-Inn* Friends, and what dire Threatnings that execrable Regicide denounced against Mr. *Barwick*, because he would not betray that righteous Cause, wherein he had engaged.

Indeed, replied Mr. *Barwick*, he tried his Skill upon me more than once, sometimes threatening the Rack to this poor Carcase, consumptive as it then was, and sometimes promising I know not what golden Mountains, leaving no Method unattempted, whereby he might induce me both to confess I know not what heinous Crimes, and to discover and accuse others as Accomplices therein, when by Witnesses hunted out and suborn'd from all Quarters, he found himself unable to make Proof of either. Nor could you easily believe, says he, if you had not heard it your self, how much he was exasperated, as well as the rest of his Rebel-Assessors, at my Silence, which he was pleased to call Contumacy. And indeed, continues he, it is very absurd to expect the least Mercy or Humanity from them, who have been so long inur'd to Cruelty and Barbarity, now they have found, I am neither to be won with their Allurements, nor forced with
their

their Threats. For which Reason, says he, I must beg dear Mr. *Otway's* incessant Prayers to our most merciful God in my behalf, that after so many great and illustrious Persons (whom I follow at a great Distance, and devoutly kiss their sacred Footsteps) having engaged in a most honourable and righteous Cause, and abetted it to the utmost of my poor Ability, I may not at last sink under the Load, if they should proceed to Extremities; for it is very meet, that being supported by the Divine Aid, and having before my Eyes both the Royal Martyr, who lately set us so glorious an Example in finishing this Course, and even Christ himself the Judge and Rewarder of our Constancy and Perseverance therein, and who has prepared the Way for us, I should not unwillingly lay down this Life, which God, as you see, has beyond all Expectation restored me as it were from Death. Nor do I doubt, continues he, but all those *Grey's-Inn* Friends of ours, kind to me beyond my Deserts, wish as well to our oppressed Country and afflicted Prince, as either you or I (for I have been many Years sufficiently appriz'd of your good Will to both) and will be as ready to serve them, when

Occasion

Occasion shall offer; and I should willingly exhort you and them to Perseverance and Constancy in these most difficult Times, but that I would not add Spurs where there is no Need. And when in this most noble Race of Love to his Country Mr. *Barwick* led the Way so cheerfully, notwithstanding all his Load of Fetters; he that would not willingly have followed him, one who was so signal an Instance of the extraordinary Favour of God, that had preserved him from the Malice of his barbarous Enemies, and from the Violence of a desperate Disease; and was so noble an Example of unshaken Virtue, and Evenness of Mind, which God called him to exercise for the Instruction of others: He, I say, that would not readily have followed such a Leader, must have been much less zealous and active than Mr. *Otway* was: For this was that brave Mr. *Otway*, who first of all the University of *Cambridge* was not afraid publickly and learnedly to ^w defend the Royal Cause against the wicked Association of those, which were thence cal-

^w Not improbably in some publick Exercise in the College or University.

led the * associated Counties; in despite of the Ringleaders of the Rebellion, and all their Malice; first of all was thrown into Prison for that heroick Action; and being first of all expell'd the University, courageously led up the first Rank, as it were, of *Academick* Combatants, who fought so strenuously against savage Brutes in that glorious Conflict for their oppressed Country: Nor did he shew less Courage afterwards in the Field against the sworn Enemies of the Kingdom, than he had formerly done in the University.

When Mr. *Otway* had abundantly expressed his Joy, that his dear Friend Mr. *Barwick* had so much beyond all Hopes recovered from such a deplorable State of Health, and had born all the Hardship and Misery of his most barbarous Confinement with so much Serenity, Cheerfulness, and Greatness of Mind; he began at last to enquire of him, from whence (after the Losses sustained in his Fortune, so much broken at *Cambridge*, and since quite ruined here at *London*) he was able to obtain wherewithal

* See above p. 29.

to keep himself in so good Plight ; for that if he were not sufficiently provided for at the Charge of the Common-wealth (as they called it) according to the Custom of that famous Prison, always observed as long as the Monarchy lasted, he and his Companions of *Grey's-Inn* (as was but meet in the common Cause of all good Men) were willing to contribute to his Relief. Mr. *Barwick* desired he would return his Thanks to those worthy Gentlemen for their kind Offer made by him, which he would accept hereafter, if there should be Occasion; but that he was not willing to be unnecessarily burthensome to his Friends, especially in that calamitous Condition not only of himself in particular, but of all the Royalists in general ; that hitherto by the wonderful Goodness of God and his Friends Kindness, though he had never received a Half-peny from the present Government, he had never wanted wherewith both to provide himself such slender Diet, as seem'd most agreeable to his State of Health, and also now and then to gratify his surly Keepers, Nor was it without Difficulty, that Mr. *Otway* prevailed with him to accept a small Pledge of their further Bounty

to him, if afterwards he should have need of it. Indeed if Mr. *Barwick* would have abused the Benevolence of his Friends, he might have grown rich under this Confinement: but he had such an Abhorrence of any Thing like that, that whatever Present was made him by such, as could not very well afford it, he afterwards took Care to repay, as if it had been only borrowed.

This great Example of Christian Patience and unwearied Piety made such an Impression upon Mr. *Robert Browne* the Deputy Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who under *West* the Lieutenant had the chief Care of the whole Prison, that he was very forward to do Mr. *Barwick* all the good Offices in his Power, was together with his Wife and Family daily at Prayers with him, received the blessed Sacrament from his Hands, brought his new-born Child to be baptiz'd by him, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, and indeed became so thorough a Penitent, that he would no longer serve under the Usurpation, but soon after returned to his own Trade, that of a Cabinet-Maker, as more honest, though less gainful. Nay after his Child had been baptiz'd according to the
 Rites

Rites of our Church, he became little less hateful to his Anabaptist Masters, than Mr. *Barwick* himself, for whose Virtue and Piety he had ever after a most profound Regard. They that stood Godfathers at this Christening, according to the antient Practice of the Church, were two *Scotch* Noblemen, the Lord *Ogilby* and the Lord *Spiney*,

† *James* Lord *Ogilby* eldest Son to *James* Earl of *Airly*, chief of the great and antient Family of *Ogilvie* (as they are called in *Scotland*) descended from *Gilbert*, Son of *Gilebred*, and Brother of *Gilchrist* Earl of *Angus*, who flourished in the Reign of King *William* called the *Lion*, and obtaining of that Prince the Barony of *Ogilvie*, took his Sirname from thence, according to the Custom of those Times. Sir *Walter Ogilvie*, who seems to have been the chief Branch of the Family, had in the 15th Year of *Robert* the Second, the Barony of *Auchterhouse* by his Wife, the Daughter and Heir of Sir *William Ramsay*, and was slain at the Battel of *Hairlaw* July 29, 1411. His second Son by that Marriage, Sir *Walter Ogilvie* of *Linstrathan*, laid the Foundation of this noble Family, having on the Restoration of King *James* the First been chosen of his Privy-Council, and constituted Lord High Treasurer of *Scotland*, Anno 1424, and Master of the Household 1431, the former of which Places he held seven Years, the latter till that King's Death, Anno 1437, and died himself Anno 1441. His Grandson Sir *James Ogilvie* going Ambassador to *Denmark* from King *James* the Fourth, Anno 1492, was on his return made Lord *Ogilvie*. *James* the sixth Lord *Ogilvie*, and the sixth in Descent from him by a Daughter of Sir *John Campbel* of *Calder* (a Family I must always mention with Honour for the great Obligations I have to that learned and worthy Gentleman who is now the Head of it) succeeded to this Lordship Anno 1554, and after a long Imprisonment for his faithful Adherence to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, was releas'd on King *James* the Sixth's taking the Government on himself, and by him sent Ambassador to *Denmark* in 1596, to assist at the Coronation

Spiney, and the Godmother a Person of great Note,

Coronation of King *Cristern* the Fourth, and died in 1606. His Grandson *James*, Father of our Lord *Ogilby*, for his Fidelity to King *Charles* the First, in the beginning of his Troubles, was by Letters Patent dated at *York April 2, 1639*, made Earl of *Airly*. When the Civil War broke out, this noble Earl heartily and personally engaged in the King's Service, and as his second Son *Sir Thomas Ogilvie* served his Majesty bravely at the Head of a Regiment of his own raising, always with great Success, till the Fight of *Inverness*, wherein he lost his Life; so as soon as the great Marquess of *Montrose* took the Field for the King, his eldest Son *James Lord Ogilvie* frankly engaged his Person in the Service, and always behaved with signal Courage. At the unfortunate Adventure of *Philipshaugh* he was taken Prisoner, and tried and condemned by the Parliament; but the Night before he was to be executed, he made his Escape out of the Castle of *St. Andrew's* in the Cloaths of his Sister Lady *Anne Urquhart* of *Meldrum*, and again engaged in the same Service, and with the same Affection. Of him and the Earl his Father I had this further Account from a learned Nobleman of his own Country, wellacquainted with the History of those Times; That they were both most zealous Anti-Covenanters, and for that Reason were both excommunicated by the Presbyterians; That they were in most of the Actions in *Scotland* from the beginning of the Rebellion, and upon every Occasion distinguished themselves with the utmost Loyalty and the greatest Courage: That General *Monk* having taken *Dundee* by Storm, and heard that several of the Loyal Party were met ten Miles off that Place at a Village called *Eliot*, on the Confines of the *Highlands* in the County of *Angus*, to concert Measures for serving the King, and stopping *Cromwell's* Progress in *Scotland*, he sent a strong Party of Horse from *Dundee*, who surprizing them in Bed, brought him the chief of them Prisoners, viz. the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lords *Ogilvie*, *Spiney*, and others, who from *Dundee* were immediately sent by Sea to *London*, and confin'd in the *Tower*: That after the Restoration he was in great Favour with King *Charles* and King *James*, always in a military Employment, and commanded a Troop of Horse for King *James* at *Reading*, when the Prince of *Orange's* Troops surpriz'd those of the King in that Town, and being then past fourscore was yet in great Vigour both of Body and Mind,

Note, the Wife of General *David^a Lesley*,
 Commander of the *Scotch* Horſe, who hav-
 ing formerly with too good Succeſs ſerved
 the

and lived ſome Years after the Revolution, privately at his own Houſe, in great Honour and Reputation: He was Grandfather to the preſent Earl, now attainted and in Exile, and the Eſtate in the Perſon of his Brother. See *Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*, p. 4, &c. *British Compend*. Part 2. p. 143.

^a A Deſcendant of the old and great Family of *Crawford*, created a Lord either by King *James* the Sixth or his Son King *Charles*, a very good Soldier and an eminent Loyalift. He commanded a Regiment of Horſe in the Army that invaded *England* in the Year 1648, under the Command of *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, and after the Deſeat of that Army at *Preſton*, made his Eſcape into *Scotland*, and was ſtill employed in the Service of the King until the Time he was ſeized at *Eliot*, and carried Priſoner to *London*. He ſurvived the Reſtoration many Years, and died without leaving any Iſſue Male, or any great Eſtate, which he had conſumed in the King's Service.

^a Mr. *Crawford* in his *Peerage of Scotland*, and from him the *British Compendium* by Miſtake call him Sir *Alexander Leſly*: He was a younger Son of Captain *George Leſly*, of the Houſe of *Bulquhain* in the County of *Aberdeen*, one of the moſt illuſtrious Families of the *Leſlies*. He enter'd early on the Life of a Soldier, and after having ſerved with great Reputation in my Lord *Vere's* Regiment in *Holland*, and under *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, as his Lieutenant General, Velt Marſhal of his Armies, and Governor of *Stralsund* (of which he forced Count *Walſtein* to raiſe the Siege, and afterwards drove the imperialiſts out of *Rugen*) in 1638 he was invited back to *Scotland* by the diſaffected Nobility, to be the General of their intended Invaſion upon *England*, which being put a Stop to by the Pacificati- on, but the War ſoon breaking out again, he was again choſen General of their Army which enter'd *England* in *Auguſt* 1640, and upon the Peace concluded in 1641 was made Earl of *Leven*. On the breaking out of the *Irish* Rebellion he was appointed General of the *Scotch* Forces ſent over to ſuppreſs it; whence the Parliament recalled him in 1643, to aſſiſt them a- gainſt the King, and owed chiefly to him their great Victory

the sworn Enemies of the Church and Crown, at length coming over to the King's side, was taken Prisoner at *Worcester* Fight. And as great an Enemy as he (as well as his Confederates whose Armies he had led) had not long since been to all the Offices of the Church of *England*, he now condescended

at *Marston-Moor* on the 16th of *July* 1644. In 1648 he was offered the Command of that Army, which the Estates of *Scotland* rais'd for the King's Relief under his Confinement, but declin'd it on account of his Age and Infirmities. Yet after the King's Murder he served as a Volunteer for the Re-establishment of his Son, at the Battel of *Dunbar*, and under the King himself the next Year at *Worcester* Fight, as his Majesty's Lieutenant General, where *Crawford* (*ibid.* p. 266.) says nothing of his having been taken Prisoner (as my Author does here, and my Lord *Clarendon*, *Hist.* Vol. 3. B. 13. p. 411.) but says expressly, that he was taken afterwards at *Eliot*, together with the Lords *Ogilby* and *Spiney*, as has been already mentioned in the Notes concerning them. He says also (*ibid.*) that the Meeting at *Eliot* was to consult of Means to relieve *Dundee*, while General *Monk* lay before it (which if so, was before he took it by Storm) and that Colonel *Morgan* commanded that strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, which *Monk* sent to surprize them. As little Regard as the Parliament had to all the Service he had formerly done them, now he had changed Sides, and was become their Prisoner; yet the Queen of *Sweden*, upon an Alliance made between the Parliament and that Kingdom, in Remembrance of his great Services performed to the Crown of *Sweden*, sued to them by her Resident then at *London* for his Liberty, and obtained it. For this great Honour he went to return her Majesty his Thanks in Person, and after such a Reception at that Court as was due to his Quality and Merit, returned to his own Country, and lived in a voluntary Retirement mostly at his Seat at *Balgomy* in *Fife*, and died *Anno* 1662. See *Crawford's Peerage of Scotland*, p. 264, &c. *British Compend.* Vol. 2. p. 147, &c.

to afford his Presence at this holy Function ; which was no sooner ended, but my Lord *Ogilby*, who had always maintained the Cause of both Church and Monarchy with great Constancy and Courage, addresses himself to General *Lesley* in this manner. “ What I have been here doing to Day, “ my dear *Lesley*, will not seem new or “ unusual to any one; because I have al- “ ways had a great Veneration for the “ Church of *England*, formerly the most “ beautiful part of the Reformation, and “ still subsisting in a few Persons of extra- “ ordinary Piety, though in secret Cells, “ as we have now had an Instance. There- “ fore our very Reverend Friend Mr. *Bar-* “ *wick*, who has suffered so much for his “ Stedfastness to this Church of his, which “ also teaches us to pay that Honour due “ to the King, will not be so much rejoic- “ ed at that Share I have willingly had in “ this holy Function, as at your bare Pre- “ sence at it, of whose former Aversion, or “ at least Disaffection to these Rites he must “ have been appriz’d.” Hereto the General makes this Answer: “ Let us not, dear “ *Ogilby*, recall what is past: You see now “ very evidently, that such sacred Offices as

“ these are by no Means unacceptable to
 “ me, which may not be a little owing to
 “ the extraordinary Virtue and Piety of
 “ this holy Man: And for the future I shall
 “ be so far from having any Quarrel against
 “ the Episcopal Order, to which you may
 “ possibly have thought me a sworn Ene-
 “ my, that I rather esteem it no little Ho-
 “ nour to me, that a ^b Person of our Fa-
 “ mily and Name, a Man of some Learn-
 “ ing and Reputation, and no Enemy to
 “ the Royal Cause (I wish he had been as
 “ Orthodox in all other Points) was a Bi-
 “ shop in *Scotland* in the last Age.” It
 was very agreeable to Mr. *Barwick* to hear
 these two *Scotch* Noblemen speak with so
 much Respect of the Church, which was
 so dear to him in that her lamentable Estate,
 when she seemed to be crucified with her
 Lord: But it added much to that Satisfac-
 tion, to hear so much said in behalf of her
 Rites and Government, and that with so

^b This was undoubtedly Dr. *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross*, who
 answers the Character in every particular, was Bishop in *Queen*
Elizabeth's Time, a celebrated Author, true to *Mary Queen of*
Scots, but a zealous Papist, otherwise a great Man. See *Cam-*
deni Elizab. p. 234, 283. Mr. *Hearne's* Edit.

much Candor and Freedom by the Ring-leader of all the Covenanters.

After the Christening was over Mr. *Browne* still shewed every Day more Civility, if possible, to Mr. *Barwick*. As he had for many Months paid him great Respect; so for all the Remainder of his Life he esteemed him little less than a Father, who in some Measure had begotten him and all his Family to Christ. There is no doubt but Mr. *West* the Lieutenant of the *Tower* could have disturbed this Solemnity, or at least have prevented many of the good Offices done Mr. *Barwick* by his Deputy Lieutenant *Browne*, beyond the Order of their Masters, if he had not willingly connived at them, struck with the glorious Brightness of the Divine Presence darting out of the obscure Cell of this most holy Anchorite. Some who were no Strangers to the Affairs of that Time, say, that Mr. *West* did not only not disapprove of all these Things, but heartily, though secretly, favoured them. Thus much I am sure of, that he who not long since so officiously guarded Mr. *Barwick*, and executed the severest Orders of his new Masters against him, nay treated him with more Rigour
and

and Severity even than he could justify from their exprefs Orders under their Hands, did now on a sudden fo intirely repent, or at least was fo much softened, that he was as ready to do him all Offices of Humanity, as *Mr. Browne* was, thofe of Duty and Religion; for he removed him out of a moft noifome Dungeon into a handsome convenient Chamber, with a pair of Leads over it, where he might enjoy freer Air, and fometimes alfo the Company of his Friends. He likewife more than once in his behalf made Application to the Mock-Council of State, that according to the Cuftom of that antient Prifon (in which there had never been fo heinous a Criminal, as not to have been liberally enough provided for at the Expence of the Government) a certain Allowance of Meat and Drink might be granted him under his Confinement; and at length, after having frequently repeated this Request to them without Succels, he took Care to fend him daily from his own Table fuch Meat as was moft fuitable to his State of Health. Yet it muft not be denied, that after the reiterated Solicitations of the Lieutenant on this behalf, *Mr. Barwick* in two Years and four Months, du-

ring which he was confined, received the poor Sum of four Pounds five Shillings of our Money from the new Common-wealth. So much did they indulge him in his Illness, to recover the Flesh he had lost by his Consumption: Nor did they grant him this little, till Mr. *West* had wearied them with his Importunity, and his Prisoner had laboured full two Years under this grievous Confinement; but then at last, during the Remainder^c of his Imprisonment, he was allowed five Shillings a Week towards his Subsistence.

Having granted him this one small Favour, the violent Rage of his Oppressors began to cool; for (as was intimated above) since he would not betray himself, after he had burnt his Cypher, they were able to find nothing against him, only that he had received from some other Hand Letters written in Characters, superscribed to another Name. But it was now some Months, that that execrable Court of Judicature had

^c *Viz.* The last four Months, which at five Shillings *per* Week, reckoning the seventeenth Week then begun, comes to just four Pounds five Shillings, the Sum just now mentioned.

been abolished, which they called the High Court of Justice, and which not long before they had made a standing Court to continue six Months in the Year, for the Destruction of the Royalists, and appointed one *Keeble* an insolent mercenary Pettifogger, to be President thereof; who did not try Persons according to the antient Way, by the Verdict of a Jury; but without either Witness or Law, as well as without Shame, whomsoever he thought there was sufficient Ground of suspecting to favour the Royal Cause, he immediately condemned him to the Gallows, and without more ado had him executed. In this bloody Slaughter-house were butcher'd Colonel *Eusebius Andrews*, and other honest Loyal Subjects. And they threatned at that Time no less Cruelty against Mr. *Barwick*, while they entertained any Hope of finding at last, either from his own Confession, or the Testimony of suborn'd Witnesses, any thing against him, on which it might be lawful, even by the Practice of that Court, to charge him with an Indictment of High Treason. Nor was the abolishing of this sanguinary Court more for Mr. *Barwick's* Safety, than those new Cares and Anxieties
that

that solicited the Minds of the Rebels, and diverted their Thoughts to other Matters, who were now jealous of their Friends, as they had been formerly afraid of their Enemies: For they had too much Reason to suspect, that *Cromwell* being flushed with the Victory, and laden with the Trophies he had ^f gained at *Worcester*, after he had by Fraud and Perjury brought three Kingdoms under his Yoke, was now meditating Violence against the Partners and Accomplices of all his Wickedness, by whose Assistance he had so often triumphed; was going to commit a Rape upon the Mock Common-wealth, which being drunk with the Blood as well as adorned with the Spoils of so many loyal Subjects, prided herself in her stolen Purple; and was just ready with incestuous Hands to ravish a Government that lived by Rapine. Nor did *Bradshaw* and the rest of his Associates, the Guardians of the Common-wealth, think it for their Interest to undergo the Infamy of any farther Cruelty, and bear a Load of Envy no ways agreeable, for the Sake

^f On the third of *September Anno 1651*, that very Day Twelvemonth on which he had beat the Scots at Dunbar.

of *Cromwell* alone, whom they hated beyond Measure, and well knew, he would pull down all that had hitherto sat at the Helm. For this Reason they that were solicitous for Mr. *Barwick's* Safety, thought it proper to take the Advantage of this Conjunction, and make Application to the Council of State, that after having now suffered two Years and four Months close Confinement, without being ever brought to a Trial, he might at last be discharged. And this was obtained without much Difficulty upon the seventh of *August* 1652. But Mr. *Barwick* was obliged to give Security to appear at the Tribunal of the Commonwealth, and take his Trial, if summoned thereto within twelve Months, and to find two others to be bound with him in the same Security. These were Mr. *Thomas Wharton* Student of *Grey's-Inn*, and Mr. *Richard^h Royston* Bookseller of *London*. He that had the chief part in procuring this Enlargement was the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, Mr. *West*, who had now for several Months shewed Mr. *Barwick* all the Kind-

¹See Note ^u p. 33.

ness in his Power, not without giving some Disgust to his Masters. But three Days after he had obtained him his Liberty, he himself died suddenly of an Apoplexy, and was succeeded in the Lieutenancy by an infamous Wretch *John Barksted*, who had been one of the forwardest to glut himself with the Royal Martyr's Blood, and from whose cruel Tyranny Mr. *Barwick* had now very seasonably withdrawn himself.

The Studies in which he had employed himself in this Solitude (besides daily Prayers, which according to the Custom of the Church, and the Practice of the Apostles he always attended at the Canonical Hours) were either the holy Scriptures themselves, or approved Authors that commented upon them. But as long as *Keeble's* Court of Justice subsisted, he studied the holy Scriptures only, being prohibited the Use of all other Books whatsoever, as well as of Pen, Ink, and Paper. In reading these over and over he so imprinted the sacred Text in his Memory, that he had the whole Bible almost at Heart. The Fanaticks, with whom alone he had any Conversation at that Time, took a wonderful Pleasure in wresting the Scriptures from their genuine Sense,

Sense, and drawing Sophistical Arguments from them against the received Usages of the Church, and that holy Doctrine which Mr. *Barwick* maintained. But he out of the same Quiver had Darts always ready at Hand, with which he easily repell'd all the Force of his Adversaries, and more than once stop'd the Mouths of *Bradshaw* himself and his Assessors. Some of those with whom he ofteneft convers'd, he brought entirely back into the Bosom of the Church (as was mentioned above) and made a Person of Consideration as well as Ingenuity speak at least, and think with more Respect concerning her, if not favour her also from his Heart.

After his Deliverance from the Prison Mr. *Barwick* spent some Time in his private Studies, till he could conveniently return to the Management of the King's Affairs: He read Prayers every Day at some Friend's House: Often at his excellent Patron's the Bishop of *Durham*, who receiv'd this most welcome Guest with the dearest Embraces: Often with his aged Parents, whose chief Comfort and Support it was, under the weight of their Years, that God had blessed them with a Son, who so strenuously asserted

asserted the Cause of his oppressed Country, and of Christian Piety so much decayed. But he did not think it proper to make any long Stay with the incomparable Lady *Savile* (who had a great Respect for such of the Clergy, as adorned their Doctrine by the Holiness of their Lives, and among those particularly for him) fearing to expose her too much to the Malice and Jealousy of their Enemies. But with Sir *Thomas Ersfield* of *Suffex*, who seemed less obnoxious to their Suspicion, he sojourn'd a considerable Time: For in his House he had the Use of a Library well furnished with the Writers of the Primitive Church, with which Mr. *Barwick* most desired to converse, and which of late he had much wanted at the Bishop of *Durham's*, who was at last constrained to sell his Library, well stored with all sorts of good Books, to support himself when above fourscore and ten Years old, he that was formerly used to support so many others, when before this Rebellion he enjoyed an honourable Post in the Government of the Church, with a very plentiful Income. But to return to Mr. *Barwick*; having thus wonderfully struggled through so many Hardships, he

he was received by all his Friends with little less Kindness and Respect, than if he had been one risen from the Dead.

But when *Cromwell* had raised himself to the Protectorship, and got the Reins of the Commonwealth into his Hands; and the twelve Months were now expired, within which Mr. *Barwick* had given Security to appear at the Rebels Mock-Tribunal on their first Summons, and had heard in all that Time of no Indictment against him; he goes to *Bradshaw*, whom *Cromwell* had now turned out, to consult with him, what was to be done, in order to get his Bond cancelled; since it ought to lay him under no farther Obligation to the Commonwealth, now changed into a new Tyranny. *Bradshaw* receives him with great Courtesy and Civility, and professes himself willing to do him any good Office even with *Cromwell* himself, if he had Interest enough in him. But, Sir, says he, there is no Occasion, that you should be very solicitous about this Matter; for such Papers are either all lost, or otherwise lye in so much Disorder and Confusion, that they are never like to give Trouble to any one. Hence he took occasion to express himself with

†

great

great Bitterness against *Cromwell*, and utter the most direful Execrations against his arbitrary tyrannical Government; but spake as respectfully of the Royal Authority exercised within those Bounds prescribed by the Laws, as if he had had a Mind to return into Favour with Kings. But you Cavaliers (says he smiling) must needs laugh in your Sleeves at our Dissentions, and the Struggle there is amongst us, who shall have the Government; and promise your King, not without Reason, great Advantages from our Disagreement.

There were at that Time very many Persons of Note in the King's Interest, who looked upon that as a most favourable Conjunction to attempt his Majesty's Restoration, when *Cromwell's* Friends themselves began to be weary of his Government. With these Mr. *Barwick* was always in Readiness to contribute his Share to so glorious a Work. Yet *Cromwell* long defeated all their Endeavours, by bribing some of them over to his Side, of whose Fidelity it was thought his Majesty neither could nor ought to entertain the least Suspicion. However by some brave Men those Seeds were then sown, which afterwards grew up to a Harvest

vest for their oppressed Country's Relief, rich and plentiful beyond all they could hope for. O that we (wicked and ungrateful Nation as we are!) had not denied those Thanks to our gracious God, the munificent Donor of that Blessing, which were due for so great an Instance of his Goodness to us! What part Mr. *Barwick* took upon himself to perform in this great Work, in which every good Man had his Share; how considerable and important Service he did, and how acceptable to his Majesty, I shall endeavour as briefly as I well can to relate.

There were at that Time two Persons of chief Rank in the Army under *Cromwell*, Colonel ⁱ *John Clobery* and Colonel *Daniel Redman*, who commanded two Regiments, the former in *Scotland*, and the latter in *Ireland*, both of them greatly beloved by their Soldiers, and both Brothers-in-Law to Mr. *Otway* abovementioned; Colonel *Redman* having married that Gen-

ⁱ Afterwards Sir *John Clobery* of *Winchester*, where there is a stately Monument erected to his Memory in the Cathedral, with a long Inscription lately published in the Antiquities of that Church. See more of him in a Note below.

tleman's own, and Colonel *Clobery*, his Wife's Sister. Mr. *Otway*, who had religiously preserved his Fidelity to the King, and always maintained a strict Friendship with Mr. *Barwick*, had made it his Business for some Years (still consulting him as there was Occasion) to endeavour to bring over to the King's Interest these two considerable Men, most dear to him for their Friendship, as well as for their Affinity. And the honourable Lady *Savile*, who always admitted Mr. *Barwick* into her most secret Counsels, used the like Endeavours by proper Persons and Arguments to solicit Colonel ^k *Robert Venables*, a Person of great Note in *Cromwell's* Army, to take Compassion of his afflicted Country (groaning under the Oppression of that Tyrant) and return to his Duty to the King. All these eminent Men (though not all at one and the same Time, yet by Degrees) were

^k Descended from the antient and honourable Family of the Barons of *Kinderson* in *Cheshire*, one of the Baronies erected by *Hugh Lupus* the Great Earl of *Chester*, in the Time of *William* the Conqueror, who granted him that Earldom to be holden as freely by his Sword, as the King himself held England by his Crown. *Dugd. Bar. Vol. 1. p. 32, 35.* *Heylin's Help to English History, p. 135.*

brought back to their Duty. And though this was some Time effecting, yet they were Persons of so much Generosity, as not only to receive in a friendly manner whatever was offered them in Discourse to that Purpose, without ever discovering it; but also at last to employ their Endeavours for the King's Service, each in his several Post, to no mean Purpose. In order to negotiate his Majesty's Affairs with these Gentlemen and others, Mr. *Barwick* was often obliged to intermit his private Studies, and ride from *Suffex* up to *London*, the chief Seat of all that was then doing towards a happy Restoration.

About this Time the Rebels were deliberating with themselves, whether they should not (according to *Hobbes's* Doctrine then lately published ¹) destroy all such as they thought really favoured the Royal Cause. But the Usurper following milder Counsels, and knowing that the Number of such Persons was too great to be slaughtered, contented himself to plunder them, though they had been more than once plun-

¹ In his *Leviathan*.

dered before. From those of the Laity, who had any thing of Estate still left, he exacted a tenth Part of their Revenue: But the Clergy having been already deprived of all, he thunders out a most cruel ^m Interdict against them, threatening every Man of them with the severest Imprisonment, who either in publick Assembly, or privately in any Gentleman's House, should dare either to preach or read Prayers according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, or to teach any School. How Mr. *Barwick* behaved himself in this afflicted State of the Publick, evidently appears from a Letter of his to his venerable Patron the Bishop of *Durham*, dated *February 23^d*, 1655, a Copy whereof is here subjoined,

Right Reverend Father in God,

“ The last Letter I wrote your Lordship
 “ may have given you so much Trouble
 “ upon what I noted on your Papers, that I
 “ believe you will easily pardon my Silence
 “ since, which yet I am obliged to break
 “ now, by the present Situation of Affairs,
 “ unless I would be wanting in my Duty

^m That of *January* 1655. Dr. *Hammond's* Life, p. xi.

“ to your Lordship. How deadly a Wound
 “ our distressed Church, as it were just
 “ fetching her last Breath, has received
 “ from the late Ordinance, your Lordship
 “ has no need to be informed by me: Yet
 “ I thought it not improper to acquaint
 “ your Lordship by this Letter, what I
 “ looked upon as incumbent upon me to do
 “ in this State of Things. Indeed I hope
 “ the good *Samaritan*, who had so much
 “ *Compassion upon* the wounded Stranger,
 “ and *poured* so much *Oil and Wine into his*
 “ *Wounds* ⁿ, will by no Means be wanting
 “ to his most dear Bride, now she in like
 “ manner is *strip'd* and *wounded*. In truth
 “ I cannot but from the bottom of my
 “ Heart commiserate the Condition of such
 “ of the Clergy, as have Wives and Chil-
 “ dren to maintain. But I yet more lament
 “ the hard Fate of the Laity; inasmuch as
 “ their eternal Welfare is to be preferr'd to
 “ the temporal Estate of the other. As to
 “ my own self (I bless God for it) I am very
 “ little concerned; having no one else
 “ to be ruined with me, and being a Person

ⁿ Luke x. 30, to 35.

“ of no great Importance ; and yet if it
“ were otherwise, I should certainly be so
“ much the fitter to bear Testimony to so
“ glorious a Cause with any Hazard what-
“ ever ; which by God’s Help I shall not
“ think much to do, if I cannot otherwise
“ perform that Duty, which is so necessary
“ to the Church. For the Offices of preach-
“ ing and duly administering the Sacraments,
“ of late forbidden us to exercise, are those
“ two great Trusts, which God committed
“ to my Charge, when I undertook that
“ difficult Province, to which he vouchsaf-
“ ed to call me. And as to the Form of
“ Common-Prayer, it is so far prohibit-
“ ed, that even the Apostles Creed, the
“ very Psalms of *David*, and the Lord’s
“ Prayer it self may seem to fall under
“ the same Prohibition. I should therefore
“ make no doubt to appeal to the Judgment
“ of the bitterest Enemy himself (so that
“ he had not entirely shook off all Sense of
“ Piety, and Use of Reason) what I ought
“ to do in this Case. By this your Lord-
“ ship will easily conclude, both what I
“ think my Duty obliges me to, and by
“ what Reasons I am persuaded thereto ;
“ two Particulars which I thought it ne-
“ cessary

“ necessary to lay before your Lordship, not
“ only as a common Father of the Church,
“ but in a stricter Sense, as having the pe-
“ culiar Jurisdiction of a Diocesan over me,
“ who on that Account owe your Lord-
“ ship canonical Obedience. But besides
“ these two, I must own my self obliged to
“ your Lordship by a third Ground of Du-
“ ty, that you vouchsafed long since to take
“ me into the Number of your domestick
“ Chaplains. All these Considerations to-
“ gether, and indeed each of them singly,
“ had been sufficient to oblige me not to
“ have determined any thing with my self
“ upon this Occasion, till I had first receiv-
“ ed your Lordship’s Commands thereup-
“ on, but that I was unwilling to expose
“ your Lordship to so much Danger and Ill-
“ will: Yet I reverently submit all to your
“ Authority and singular Judgment, mak-
“ ing no doubt, but your Lordship will ap-
“ prove what I have determined to do, I
“ think, with good Reason; especially when
“ you shall understand, that for fear of fail-
“ ing the Church in so necessary a Duty, I
“ purpose to perform it with more Caution
“ and Secrecy than usual. But this I have
“ resolved, by God’s Assistance, that if ever

“ I am profecuted on this Account, I will
 “ conceal nothing of what I do: For though
 “ I am not a Person that would excuse
 “ the Madnefs of the ° *Circumcellians*; yet
 “ they were not condemned by the antient
 “ Fathers without fome Compassion for
 “ them. And certainly I had much rather
 “ suffer under an unjust Suspicion of their
 “ Temerity, than be accounted guilty of the
 “ Crime of fuch as were called Traditors,
 “ than which fort of Men nothing was of
 “ old more hateful either to God or Man.
 “ But I hope God will affift my Infirmity
 “ in the Difcharge of this Office, efppecially
 “ if I may ftill enjoy the Benefit of your
 “ paternal Benediction, and Prayers to God

° A Sect of the *Donatifts* in *Africa*, in the fourth Century, fo called becaufe of their rambling from one Town to another. They pretended to publick Reformation and redreffing of Grievances, manumis'd Slaves without their Mafter's leave, forgave Debts not their own, and committed many other Infolences. They were headed by *Maxides* and *Fafer*, at firft marching only with Staves, but afterwards using all forts of Arms againft the Catholicks. Through a mistaken Zeal for Martyrdom fome of them threw themfelves down Precipices, others leap'd into the Fire, and fome cut their own Throats; fo that their Bifhop was obliged to apply to the Magiftracy, to put a Stop to their Frenzy. *S. Auguft. de Hares. cap. 60. Contra Crefcen. Gram. l. 3. cap. 42, & 48. Pofidon. de Vita Auguftini. cap. 10.*

“ for that Purpose, which is the most hum-
“ ble Request of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most devoted humble Servant,

John Barwick.

This Letter was written from Sir *Thomas Ersfield's* House, where Mr. *Barwick* had been entertained with great Respect and Civility. But that hospitable Gentleman had not long before departed this Life; and the Lady *Ersfield* his disconsolate Widow, to wear off her Grief, had by her Sister, married to Sir *Thomas Middleton* (a Gentleman mentioned above, of great Reputation both among his own Countrymen of *Wales*, and also in the neighbouring Counties) been invited to *Cherk* ^p Castle, their noble Seat, whither the religious Lady carried Mr. *Barwick* along with her. Here Sir *Thomas Middleton* and he renewed their former

^p In the County of *Denbigh* in *North-Wales*.

Consultations concerning his Majesty's Affairs. And that Mr. *Barwick* might more conveniently attend this Business, after his return out of *Wales*, he dwelt with his Brother, who was lately come to *London* to practise Physick. In his House ^a finding an Oratory formerly consecrated to God, but prophaned in the late Rebellion, he was at the Charge of restoring it to its antient Beauty, and constantly performed Divine Service there, recommending to God the Cause of the oppressed Church and King.

A little after he came to his Brother's House, which was in the beginning of the Year 1658, was published, *A Treatise of the Nature of the Catholick Faith and of Heresy* ^r (as it was intituled) written in *English* by one or two anonymous Authors, which gave Mr. *Barwick* no little Interruption in Matters he was employed in of much greater Moment. For those Inventors of

^a In *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, where on the eighth of *May* 1661, the Bishop of *London*, *Dr. Gilbert Sheldon*, and other of the Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, &c. met in the Morning, and proceeded thence to the Cathedral, and began the first Session of the Convocation for revising the Book of Common-Prayer. *Synod. Anglican. Append.* p. 60, 61.

^r Printed at *Roszen*, 1657.

pious Frauds pretended, that some Presby-
 terian Noblemen, who sat in the late Par-
 liament, had writ a certain Book, wherein
 they undertook to make appear to the House,
 that the Bishops had no Right to sit there,
 because they did not succeed the Bishops of
 the last Age in an uninterrupted Line, as
 not having been duly consecrated. At the
 same Time they invented this Story, that
 the Bishop of *Durham*, Mr. *Barwick's* most
 honoured Lord and Patron, to answer this
 Objection, had in a solemn Speech made in
 full Parliament, asserted in express Words,
 that our first Bishops after the Reformation
 had been consecrated in a Tavern ^f; and that
 this was so far from being doubted, that it
 was a Fact most notorious all the World
 over; adding, that the rest of the Bishops
 present rather approved, than in the least
 opposed what he said. Thus was this ri-
 diculous and incoherent Fable, which Mr.
Mason had long since ^t exploded, again
 brought to the Forge by these good Men,
 forsooth, and being smoothed over with

^f The Nagg's Head in *Cheapside*.

^t In his *Vindicia Ecclesie Anglicane, sive de legitimo ejusdem mi-
 nisterio*, Lib. iii. cap. 8.

new Fictions, was obtruded afresh upon the People. So little did they consider in the mean Time, that none do more disturb the Unity, and weaken the Faith of the Church, for which they would seem so much concerned, than such as endeavour by Fraud and Falshood to support and maintain them. It was sufficient to confute this doughty Argument of our Adversaries, that the Bishop of *Durham* was still living, as probably they hoped he was not; for he was now in the ninety fifth Year of his Age. As soon therefore as his Friends gave him Notice of this Calumny fastened upon him, when he thought of nothing less; he sent from the Country, where he then resided, for his Chaplain Mr. *Barwick* then at *London*, ordering him to bring a publick Notary with him, that by a solemn Protestation made before them and other proper Witnesses, he might declare the Falshood of this Story. When his Lordship had made this Protestation^u in due Form, he employed Mr. *Barwick* to lay it before all those Lords, who had sat in that Parliament, and

^u Sign'd July 17th 1658.

were yet surviving, whether Spiritual or Temporal, living either at *London*, or in the neighbouring Counties; appealing to the Faith of them all, that preferring the Sacredness of Truth to all other Considerations whatever, if they believed him undeservedly aspers'd with this Calumny, they would freely attest it by subscribing their Names. And this was readily done * not only by all the Lords of Parliament, to whom the Protestation could be carried (and it was carried to a great many) but by all the Clerks also, and other Officers of the House, whose Business it was to register in authentick Journals all such Debates, if there had been any: But they all declared, there was not the least Footstep to be found either of any such Book, as was pretended to be laid before the House, or of any such Speech, as the Adversaries alledged to have been made on that Occasion. The aged Bishop, now past managing Church Controversies himself, lays his Commands on his Chaplain Mr. *Barwick* to publish this Protestation, together with the noble Testi-

* Sign'd July 19, 1658.

mony thereto subjoin'd. And this he designed to do in a just Volume: But when he heard that the learned ^y Bishop of *Derry*, then an Exile in *Holland*, intended the same Thing (having been engaged before with the same Adversaries in that Controversy ^z) he readily left this Work to his Lordship's irrefragable Pen, furnishing him in the mean Time with Materials proper to end this Dispute ^a, not only from this fresh Testimony of undoubted Authority, but also out of more antient Monuments, as old as the Reformation itself; and those not only such as were taken from the authentick Records of the Church, which Mr. *Mason* had ^b formerly produced, and so astonished his Adversaries with them (as with the sight of *Gorgon's* Head) that they had remained under a profound Silence now about thirty Years: But likewise out of the pub-

^y Dr. *John Bramhall*.

^z *Viz.* In his just Vindication of the Church of England, p. 133. In his Replication to the Bishop of *Chalcedon*, p. 253. And in *Schism guarded*, in answer to *Serjeant*, p. 422.

^a Which was done in his Treatise, intituled, *The Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified, the Bishop of Duresme vindicated, and the infamous Fable of the Ordination at the Nagg's Head clearly confuted.*

^b De Ministerio Anglicano ubi sup.

lick Records of the Kingdom, which agree so exactly with those of the Church, that whoever will assert, that the Bishops of our reformed Church were not canonically ordained, may with equal Right call in-to Question the publick Faith of all Nations.

While Mr. *Barwick* was not unprofitably employed in this Affair, there were two Things wherein Dr. *c. John Hewit*, a Person of great Integrity, and an eminent Divine, desired to make use of his Assistance: One, that being now condemned to^d death

^c Minister of St. Gregory's Church near St. Paul's London. Created D. D. at Oxford, October 17, 1643. *Wood's Fasti Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 723.

^d Together with Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and beheaded on Tower Hill with him *June 8, 1658*, for conspiring against the Usurpation. *Wood ubi supra.* concerned it seems in that intended Rising, which the Marquess of *Ormond* was in London at that Time to head, and which *Cromwell* had discovered, and some Time cherished, to the very great Hazard of the Marquess himself. Sir *Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 385.

His Funeral Sermon was preached on the Sunday following his Execution, *viz. June 13*, at St. *Dyonis Back-Church* in Lime Street, by Mr. *Nathaniel Hardy* then Minister there, and published soon after; and not long after that came forth his Defence, intituled, *Beheaded Dr. John Hewit's Ghost—crying for Justice*, &c. containing his legal Plea, Demurrer and Exceptions to the illegal Jurisdiction, &c. drawn up by Counsel [Mr. *William Prynne*] and left behind him ready engrossed, and would have been tendered— had he not discerned their Resolution to reject and over-rule, &c. printed at London 1649, containing eighteen Pages in Quarto.

by the Rebels, nor like to do his oppressed Country any farther Service for the future, than what was now done for it by the Royal Martyr, and the rest of the glorious Saints in Heaven, he might put into Mr. *Barwick's* Hands some hundreds of Pounds, which himself had procured for the King's Use, to be by him transmitted to his Majesty: The other, that upon the Scaffold, that last Stage of his Christian Fortitude and Piety, he might be assisted by him, who had been so near laying down his Life also for the same most righteous Cause. Just before this pious Martyr submitted his Neck to the Axe, he took a Ring from his Finger, and presented it to Mr. *Barwick*, as the last Pledge of his Love. The Motto of it was *Alter Aristides*, another *Aristides*: But whether it was with Design, or rather by mere Accident, that the holy Man had this Ring on his Finger at that Time, is what I am not able to say: Certainly it seemed to have been first made for a much different Purpose, than to serve this tragical Occasion. But Mr. *Barwick* always thought the Posie very suitable thereto, and constantly wore the Ring all the remainder of his Life, as a faithful Monitor of that Duty and Affection he owed the

the Publick: For he accounted nothing a greater Reproach to his Nation, than that that illustrious Heathen, only by the Light of Nature, should have shewed more Duty and Regard to his Country, than many among us, who make the greatest boast of the Christian Religion.

In his Brother's House Mr. *Barwick* found secret Places, known to none but himself, very convenient for hiding both what Papers concerned the King's Business, and what Money he had for his Majesty's Use. Among his Papers I found a great many Letters of the Lord Chancellor of *England*, at that Time chief Minister of State, concerning the arduous Affairs of the Church and Kingdom, most of them in Cypher written to Mr. *Barwick* after his return a second Time to the Management of the King's Business, all which Letters preserved by him, together with the Cypher, thereto belonging, I have^e now in my Custody. The King himself also condescended to write

^e Those Letters and the Cypher, with other Papers relating to the same Subject, were afterwards bound up together, and repositied by the Author in the Library of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*.

some Letters, all in his own Hand, to this his most devoted and faithful Servant; therein not only most graciously acknowledging his faithful Endeavours for his Majesty's Service, but even vouchsafing to commend them. Such of these Letters as most conduce to give Light to the History I am writing, I thought proper to turn into Latin, more scrupulous perhaps to render the genuine Sense of them almost Word for Word, than solicitous about the Elegance of the *Roman* Language. The King's first Letter dated *Brussels December 30, 1658*, was in these Words.

“ I have this Day received from the honest Bearer your's, of the 25th of *November*,
 “ and have likewise seen what you have
 “ writ to the Chancellor; and had your
 “ former that was directed to Mr. *Thornton*,
 “ though very long after it was written. I
 “ do thank you very heartily for the Pains
 “ you have taken; and assure your self, I
 “ have a very just Sense of what you have
 “ done, and what you have suffered for me;
 “ and if God bless me, you shall find the
 “ Effects of it. The hundred Pound delivered to Mr. *Thornton* I have received,
 “ as I doubt not I shall the rest within the
 “ Time,

“ Time, from the honest Bearer you trust-
 “ ed. I conceive there is a Mistake in the
 “ Accounts, for Mr. *Shaw* never received
 “ more than the hundred Pound from Mr.
 “ *Hartop*, which was reckoned in your for-
 “ mer, when there remained six hundred
 “ and thirty five Pound, but you know best,
 “ whether the Mistake be in me. All the
 “ Noise that was made then of that hun-
 “ dred Pound upon the Death of Mr. *D.*
 “ was purely from the Indiscretion of *Har-*
 “ *top*, who was very unreasonable: I pray
 “ thank Mr. *Gr.* from me for his Care,
 “ which I doubt not he will continue; and
 “ therefore I shall refer the Ways of Re-
 “ turns to himself, which cannot be dif-
 “ ficult; and if he makes the Money pay-
 “ able to *Jaques de la Haye*, and sends the
 “ Bills by the Way Mr. *Thornton* knows, to
 “ the Chancellor, I shall be justly comply-
 “ ed with. He that proposed that Method
 “ for Returns to me, was not enough ac-
 “ quainted with the Streights I am in, which
 “ I wish were truly known to all my Friends,
 “ and the good Husbandry that is used in
 “ my Expence, in which God knows there
 “ is little Excess. I wish therefore that you
 “ would get all that remains to be returned
 “ together,

“ together, and whatsoever shall hereafter
 “ by your Industry, and the Affection and
 “ Diligence of any other Friends be raised,
 “ may be sent over as soon as may be; which
 “ will be most for my Benefit, and I hope
 “ for their’s. I thank you for the Account
 “ you give me of the State of Affairs, which
 “ I desire you to continue, it being of great
 “ Moment. And now you will know my
 “ Hand, which I am promised shall come
 “ safe to you, I shall not hereafter subscribe
 “ the Name of

Your affectionate Friend

Superfcrib’d
B.

Charles R.

From that Concern the King here expresseth about a few hundred Pounds, may be seen into what narrow Circumstances the Majesty and future Glory of the *British* Nation was then reduced.

This Letter of the King’s was written full three Months after the Death of *Oliver Cromwell*, into whose Place that Usurper’s Council had promoted his Son *Richard*, not without the great Disgust of many of the chief Commanders of the Army. *Richard* was by no Means able to support the Government,

Government, which his Father had obtained by Treachery: For he was very different from his Father, being a Person of great Candor and Simplicity, but at the same Time very weak and cowardly; so that he seemed to have neither Virtues nor Vices sufficient long to sustain so envied a Burthen. Therefore the King's Friends look'd upon this as a very favourable Conjuncture, (now they perceived the Conservators of the Usurpation were like to have a warm Contention among themselves, who should have the largest Share of *Cromwell's* Spoils) to animate their Contests all they could, and spread the Flames of their Divisions wider, holding themselves always in readiness to take all Advantages from these Contentions of the Rebels, to promote the King's Interest. Among these one of the chief was that honourable *Welsh* Gentleman Sir *Thomas Middleton* abovementioned, concerning whose Readiness on this Occasion Mr. *Barwick* had acquainted the King by Letter; to which his Majesty condescended to return the following Answer, dated, *Brussels June 2, 1659.*

“ I have your’s of the 16th, and when I
 “ read it, I assure you, I needed not to ask
 “ any Question, but very well understood,
 “ who the Person was, though the honest
 “ Bearer afterwards mentioned him to me :
 “ I have never been without Thoughts of
 “ him, and of the Use he would be to me,
 “ and longed very much for an Opportu-
 “ nity of sending to him, which I thank
 “ you for having given me, and I desire the in-
 “ closed Letter may be given to him, and that
 “ I may know his Answer as soon as may be,
 “ and in what Friends he is most confident,
 “ and willing to join with, which will make
 “ all Things the more easy : Concerning all
 “ other Matters I refer you to the Chancel-
 “ lor, who will return you my Acquittan-
 “ ces, and what else is necessary ; and I hope
 “ the Time is at Hand, in which I shall
 “ Reward the many good Services you have
 “ done for

Your affectionate Friend,

Superfcrib’d
B.

Charles R.

The King had a very just Regard for the
 Reputation and Interest of Sir *Thomas Mid-*
dleton,

dleton, as well as for his Zeal to promote his Service, being secure enough, under a General of so much Experience and Authority, not to want the ready Obedience of his Neighbours in *Wales*, who had seldom revolted from their Duty : And his Majesty knew, that this Gentleman was both heartily returned to his Faith and Allegiance to his Sovereign, and had been fully instructed, by Mr. *Barwick* and other Clergymen of the Church of *England*, in the wholesome Precepts of that Church, which teaches the most religious Regard to be always paid to the Royal Dignity. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, with his eldest Son and his two Sons-in-Law, Sir *Wynn*, and Sir *Grosvenour*, the Lord *Herbert* [†] of *Chirbury*, and other

[†] *Edward* the third Lord *Herbert* of *Chirbury*, and of *Castle Island*, Son of *Richard*, and Grandson of *Edward* the first Lord, who being descended from the Earls of *Pembroke*, and a Gentleman of Letters and great Accomplishments, was made Knight of the *Bath* at the Coronation of King *James* the First, employed as his Ambassador in *France* above five Years, and thereupon advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of *Ireland*, by the Name of Lord *Herbert* of *Castle Island* (alias Castle of the Island of *Kerry*) by Letters Patents dated 31 Dec. 22 Jac. and afterwards created a Baron of *England* by the Title of Lord *Herbert* of *Chirbury* in *Shropshire* on the 7th of *May*, in the fifth Year of King *Charles* the First. That noble Lord was the celebrated Author of the Life and Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth

other Gentlemen, were all ready and prepared, only waiting Orders from his Majesty. Nor was Colonel *Venables* above-mentioned (who lived in the neighbouring County of *Chester*, and had been formerly turned out by *Cromwell*) like to be wanting to any brave Attempt; for which Purpose, as Occasion offered, he received Intelligence concerning the King's Affairs from his Friend Mr. *Barwick*: For this Gentleman had a considerable Time employed his Endeavours privately for the King's Service, at the Instance of some of his dearest Friends, whom (as has been said) the Lady *Savile*, ever most zealous for his Majesty's Interest, had found Means to engage in that Work; for she had heard it whispered, that Colonel *Venables* was much affected with the barbarous Murther of the Royal Martyr, and was too generous an Enemy, not to lament

as well as of several other Books: His eldest Son *Richard* having in his Father's Life Time been the great Supporter of the Royal Cause in *Wales*, during the Troubles of King *Charles* the First, on his Father's Decease, not long before the King's Murther, succeeded to the Honour, *August 5, 1648*, and dying himself *May 13, 1655*, left this Lord *Edward* the Heir of his Honours, as well as of his Loyalty; who together with his valiant Brother *Henry*, and a great Number of his Kindred and Family, intended to have risen for King *Charles* the Second in *Shropshire*, *Anno 1659*, but being there betrayed, joined with Sir *George Booth* in his Design, equally glorious, but alas! equally unsuccessful. *Dugd. Bar. Vol. 2. p. 261, 262.*

his

his untimely End. Nor were his Sighs upon this sad Occasion, as carefully as he endeavoured to conceal them, so far smothered within his own Breast, as to escape the Jealousy and Sagacity of *Cromwell*; who as a Mark of his pretended Favour, but in reality to remove as far off as he could a Person of whom he was afraid, resolved to give this Gentleman the Command of those Forces he had raised for the Expedition into *America*: But Colonel *Venables*, who was no Stranger to *Cromwell's* Artifice, and knew very well, that the greatest Part of the Forces he was to command, sufficiently hated the Usurpation, had determined by their Assistance to dethrone the Tyrant, and restore the King. Nor indeed had this glorious Design failed of Success, if the auxiliary Troops appointed to be in Readiness to second so noble an Enterprize, had not been betrayed by a most perfidious^u Wretch, with whom his Majesty about that Time had entrusted all his Affairs: For *Cromwell* having got some Notice of this Design, before the Day appointed for the Execution of

^u Sir *Richard Willis*, of whom and his Treachery see an Account, *Clarend. Hist. Vol. 3. B. xvi. p. 668, &c. Echard's Hist. Vol. 2. B. iii. p. 727.*

it, sends *Desborough* all on a sudden to Colonel *Venables* in the dead of the Night, who raises him out of his Sleep, and ^w commands him to march immediately with all his Forces from *London* towards *Portsmouth*: By which Means this noble Design was for that Time interrupted. But Colonel *Venables*, by his Friend Mr. *Barwick*, who was privy to it, and had his Share therein, now again offers his Duty and Service to his Majesty.

Mr. *Barwick* relying on the great Sedulity and Industry of his Friend Mr. *Otway*, did not much doubt, but that both Colonel *Redman* in *Ireland*, and especially Colonel *Clobery* in *Scotland*, would on the first favourable Opportunity readily employ their Endeavours for the King's Service: But seeing that the latter served under the Command of General *Monk*, afterwards the most illustrious Duke of *Albermarle*, the former under that of *Henry Cromwell*; the Matter seemed very difficult, and full of Danger,

^w This was in the beginning of the Year 1655. *Clarend. Hist. Vol. 3. p. 576.* where you may see an Account of his Expedition, and the ill Success of it, on which he and *Pen* at their Return were put into the *Tower*.

I may add, nor like to be of any Service to his Majesty, nor as they imagined, either honest or decent; unless their respective Generals, under whom they commanded, and by whose Favour they had been advanced to such considerable Posts in the Army, were themselves first brought over to the King's side, or at least heartily invited to it. But *Henry Cromwell*, to his no little Loss and Disreputation, tamely yielding about this Time to the sworn Enemies of the Crown in *Ireland*, as well as to his false and perfidious Friends, as his Brother *Richard* had lately done in *England*, Colonel *Redman's* Design, who was also turned out with his General, seemed to be render'd impracticable for the present; yet he still entertain'd Hopes of being able to serve the King, when a more convenient Opportunity should offer. But Mr. *Barwick* by his Majesty's Direction desired Mr. *Otway* to lay aside all Thoughts of the Affair in *Ireland* for some Time, and take a Journey into *Scotland*, and prevail with his Brother-in-Law Colonel *Clobery** to endeavour by all Means possible

* To whom his Majesty wrote a Letter some Time after, to
bc

ble to bring over his General to the King's Interest, to which no Accession could be of greater Importance, and with whom the great Opinion the General had of *Clobery's* Courage, Prudence, and Fidelity, had given him no little Credit. Mr. *Otway* most willingly undertakes the Business, and resolves to perform the Journey at his own Charges; and Mr. *Barwick* acquaints the King by Letter of his Friend Mr. *Otway's* great readiness to serve his Majesty in this Matter, and at the same Time most humbly begs, that his Majesty would send a Letter to General *Monk* by some faithful discreet Person, of Interest and Weight with him, that after so powerful an Application he might yield with less Difficulty to the Importunity of Colonel *Clobery* and others: For a Work of this Importance was not likely to be effected either by one Man, or in one Day, though the Person that should undertake it were backed with never so much

be delivered by Mr. *Otway*, as appears from another Letter also written upon that Occasion to Mr. *Otway*, published in the *Appendix* N^o. xx. from the Original, all in his Majesty's own Hand, a Copy whereof was most obligingly communicated to me by *Brathwaite Otway*, Esq; of *Grey's-Inn*, the worthy Son of that loyal Gentleman.

Authority

Authority from the King. The Pains Mr. *Barwick* took to procure the Services of Colonel *Venables*, Colonel *Clobery*, and Colonel *'Redman*, Persons of so much Note, and of such Experience in military Affairs, his Majesty in another Letter, all written in his own Hand, was graciously pleased to acknowledge; intimating likewise, that in Compliance with Mr. *Barwick's* Advice, he would write to General *Monk*. His Majesty's Letter was in these Words:

Brussels June 12, 1659.

“ I have received your's, and am very
“ glad that you have so much Confidence
“ in one of the Persons, and so reasonable
“ Hope of the other; I will do the best I
“ can to dispose the third Person, and to
“ proceed in the Way you direct, but I
“ am not sure of Success that Way, and
“ I therefore desire you to use your utmost
“ Endeavour with your Friend, that *R.*
“ may take the Matter to Heart, and im-
“ prove all Occasions; and you may pro-
“ mise him, that I will recompence him
“ and his Friends in such a Way as shall
“ well satisfy him and them: Encourage
“ your other Friend to proceed with *C.*

“ and if he will undertake the Business, he
 “ shall be fully satisfied in the manner you
 “ propose; and if I once know what he
 “ will do, and what he expects, I will
 “ give him all the Assurance I can, and I
 “ doubt not such as will content him, if
 “ he be real, both with Reference to him-
 “ self and his Friends, and I desire your
 “ Friend would speak with him as soon as
 “ may be. Concerning *V.* what he says is
 “ so reasonable, that I must leave him to
 “ his own Discretion, both for the Matter
 “ and the Manner, and am well pleased
 “ that he continues with the same Resolu-
 “ tion.

I am

Your affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

For the Point Mr. *Barwick* solicited was,
 that those brave Men so much renowned in
 War, wherein they had formerly served the
 Enemy with too much Success, should now
 at last all repent (as some of them had pri-
 vately done before) and hold themselves in
 readiness, while yet unsuspected, to join
 their

their Forces with the Royalists, y who had concerted a general Rising for the Deliverance of their Country on the first of *August* following.

In the mean Time the King employs his Thoughts to find out some fit Person to be sent privately with his Commands to General *Monk*, and at last makes choice of Sir^z *John Greenville*, Bart. afterwards the Right Honourable the Earl of *Bath*, to whom

^y Dr. Price, General *Monk's* Chaplain, tells us, that Sir *George Booth* (afterwards Lord *De la Mere*) undertook for *Cheshire* and the Counties adjacent; Sir *Thomas Middleton* for *North Wales*, Major General *Massy* for *Gloucester* and *South Wales*; the Lord *Fairfax* for the *North*; the Lord *Roberts* (afterwards Earl of *Radnor* and President of the Council) for the *West*; Colonel *Alexander Popham*, and Colonel *Robert Rolles* for *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Devonshire*; Colonel *Norton* for *Portsmouth* and *Hantshire*, and Sir *Horatio*, afterwards Lord *Viscount Townshende* for the associated Counties, and diverse others in all Places throughout England. Myst. and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration, p. 4.

^z Son and Heir to the renowned Sir *Bevil Greenville*, Bart. a Gentleman of a very antient Family in *Devonshire*, who having at his own Charge raised a Troop of Horse, Anno 1638, and therewith attended King *Charles* the First against the Rebels in *Scotland*, and being afterwards Knight of the Shire for *Cornwall* in the Long Parliament, when the Rebellion broke out in *England*, led the *Cornish* Men against the Rebels of *Devonshire* and the adjacent Counties, and obtaining many signal Victories over them, particularly at *Bodmyn*, *Lanceston*, and *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, and at *Lansdown* in *Somersetshire*, bravely lost his Life in that last great Battel, whereupon this his Son Sir *John* (though then but fifteen Years of Age) first headed his Father's own Regiment, and soon after became Commander in chief of five others, engaged in all the considerable Actions

whom he sends a Letter with one enclosed to the General then commanding in *Scotland*, to be carried to him either by Sir *John* himself, or by any other discreet Person in the King's Interest, but not suspected by the too watchful Enemy; for such a one would discharge the Trust both more acceptably to the General, and with greater Probability of Success. Sir *John* found out one that seemed altogether equal to this Employment, Mr. ^a *Nicholas Monk*, the General's
many

in the West, and also in the second *Newbury* Fight, wherein he received many dangerous Wounds. Afterwards attending King *Charles* the Second in his Exile, as one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, in Reward of all those great Services, and for his bravely defending the *Scilly* Islands (of which he was Governor) against no less than fifty Ships of the Rebels, and particularly for the noble Share he had, with his Kinsman General *Monk*, in his Majesty's happy Restoration, he was by Letters Patents bearing date at *Westminster* 20 April, 13 Car. 2. made Lord *Greenville* of *Kilkhampton* and *Biddisford*, Viscount *Greenville* of *Lansdown*, and Earl of *Bath*, being at that Time chief Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, and Warden of the Stanneries in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*. *Dugd. Bar. Vol. 2. p. 479, 480. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 95, &c.* From the Victory of *Stratton* abovementioned, two of the great Commanders that shared in it were successively created Barons of *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *John Berkley*, on the Honour's being extinct at Lord *Hopton's* Death, which I mention to rectify a Mistake in the late Edition of *Camden's Britannia*, p. 87. into which Mr. *Collier* had also fallen in his Translation of *Moreri's* Dictionary, but has corrected it, in his Supplement to that Work.

^a Younger Son of Sir *Thomas Monk* of *Potheridge* in *Devonshire*,

own Brother, then a venerable Presbyter of the Church of *England*, and afterwards Bishop of *Hereford*, a Person of great Wisdom and Integrity. For what Man upon Earth would the General more probably, or could he more safely admit into the most secret Purposes of his Heart, than his own Brother, throughly known, and upon many Accounts most dear to him? The General, I say, who was the most cautious Man living, and the most careful and vigilant to guard against the Envy and Jealousy of the Fanatick Rulers in *England*, to which he was so obnoxious. And it was thought a sufficient Pretence for Mr. *Monk's* Journey, and what could leave no room for the least Suspicion, that having not seen his dearest Brother now for some Years, and after various Hazards and Dangers of War, he was desirous to make him a Visit,

shire, admitted in *Wadham* College in *Oxford* at the Age of seventeen, *Anno* 1626, proceeded in Arts *Anno* 1634, enjoyed a little Cure in *Devon* by the Interest of the General his Brother, was persecuted by *Oliver's* Triers, but afterwards presented to the Rectory of *Kilkhampton* in *Cornwall* by his Kinsman Sir *John Greenville*, afterwards Earl of *Bath*, by whose Interest and his Brother's he was in *June* 1660 made Provost of *Eaton*, *Aug.* 1. following created Doctor of Divinity, and *January* 6. 1660-1 consecrated Bishop of *Hereford*, and died *December* 17. 1661. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 660, 661. Fasti p. 811.*

and also to consult with him about the Disposal of his Daughter in Marriage ^b. Nor indeed, as the Times then were, could the General have safely admitted, so much as to discourse with him, any other Person from *England*, and a Stranger to his Army, besides his Brother, though he had entered never so heartily into that glorious Undertaking, to which he was invited; especially if he desired to bring about a Matter of so great Difficulty and such mighty Importance, as he afterwards did, without the Effusion of Blood. His Majesty's Letter ^c to General *Monk*, dated *July 21st, 1659*, was in these Terms.

S I R,

“ I cannot think you wish me ill, nor
 “ have you Reason to do so; and the Good
 “ I expect from you, will bring so great a
 “ Benefit to your Country and to your self,
 “ that I cannot think you will decline my
 “ Interest. The Person who gives, or sends

^b A Match being then proposed for her with a Gentleman of their own Country, and she then residing with her Uncle the General at *Dalkeith*. *Skinner's Life of General Monk*, p. 104, 105.

^c See *Skinner's ibid.* p. 103.

“ this to you, has Authority to say much
“ more to you from me: And if you once
“ resolve to take my Interest to heart, I
“ will leave the Way and Manner of de-
“ claring it entirely to your Judgment, and
“ will comply with the Advice you shall
“ give me; the rest I refer to the Person
“ that conveys this to you. It is in your
“ Power to make me as kind to you as
“ you can desire, and to have me always

Your affectionate Friend,

C. R.

Mr. *Otway* had not been long arrived at his Brother-in-Law Colonel *Clobery's* Quarters in *Edinburgh*, on Pretence of making him a Visit, before Mr. *Monk* got into *Scotland*. And now at last there began to appear some glimmering Hopes, though yet very obscure, that the General of the *Scotch* Army might by those two Agents, his Brother *Nicholas*, and Colonel *Clobery*, an Officer of so much Credit with him, be drawn over to the King's Interest, to which it may be he was of his own Accord inclinable enough, if a favourable Opportunity should

O 2 offer.

offer. Nor is there any doubt but these two Gentlemen took all Occasions, each of them, by all that was Good and Holy, and particularly by the sacred Ashes of the Royal Martyr, to implore the Faith and Allegiance of that illustrious Person, that he would deliver his dearest Country from the brain-sick Outrage of Enthusiasts, and restore the King's Son, now banished from his Palace, to his Father's Throne, which was due to him by all the Laws of God and Man. Besides these two excellent Persons, I suppose there were many others, in whom General *Monk* placed great Confidence, and who about this Time, or at least afterwards, used their Endeavours to bring him over to the King's side, particularly Mr. *Thomas Clarges* ^b, Brother to the
General's

^b Dr. *Skinner* informs us, that on May 5, 1660, the Address from the Army, together with the General's (*Monk's*) Letter, was sent to his Majesty by Commissary *Clarges*; and that his Majesty had before received an Account of this Gentleman, and of the Service he had rendered him, by his constant and faithful Correspondence with General *Monk*, in order to his Restoration: So that he entertained him with a particular Kindness, and presently Knighted him, being the first Person who received (and deservedly) any Title or Mark of Honour from his Majesty upon this Service. *Life of General Monk*, p. 336, 337. in which as well as in Dr. *Price's* and Dr. *Gumble's* Life of that great Man, you have a farther Account what was done for

General's Lady, and Colonel *Ralph Knight*, one of the chief Officers of the *Scotch Army*; for I find both their Names written in Mr. *Barwick's* Cypher; and they are both, as well as Colonel *Clobery*, known to have been afterwards rewarded with Titles of Honour, and other Marks of Royal Favour by their munificent Prince. But though I am not sufficiently appriz'd, what was done for the King's Service by each of these Gentlemen particularly, or any other of the *Scotch Army*, while these Matters were transacting; yet it abundantly appears from Letters of undoubted Authority, that whatever belonged to Mr. *Barwick's* Province, whether in *England*, in *Wales*, or in *Ireland*, but particularly in *Scotland*, was always discharged by him with the strictest Conformity to his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, of which the Chancellor gives a very honourable Testimony in a Letter written

for the King's Service both by Sir *Thomas Clarges* and Sir *Ralph Knight*.

^c Colonel of Horse, whereof the General having had only four Regiments, he must have been considerable. Dr. *Gumble* styles him Sir *Ralph Knight*. *Life of General Monk*, p. 187, 192. though I presume he was not Knighted till after the Restoration. See more of him in the Continuation of *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 719.

to him, dated *July 8, 1659.* which begins with the Paragraph following.

S I R,

“ I have received your’s of the 20th of
 “ the last Month, which is exceedingly satisf-
 “ factory to the King in all Particulars. His
 “ Majesty forbears to write himself, having
 “ nothing to add to what he hath formerly
 “ said, and cannot wish the Business, with
 “ Reference to the several Persons, in a bet-
 “ ter Way than you have put it; only he
 “ desires, that as frequently as you meet with
 “ fit Opportunities, you will advertise him
 “ of the Progress you make: And the
 “ Truth is, he is not better pleas’d with
 “ the general Account of Affairs from
 “ any body, than what you write. *Ap-*
 “ *pend. N^o. ix.*

While these Things were upon the Anvil, Mr. *Barwick* was again called upon to intermix his Negotiations for the State with the Affairs of the Church, in which he seemed to act, as in a Province belonging to him by a better Right, and was as assiduous in the Discharge thereof, as if he had been absolutely at Liberty from all o-
 ther

ther Business. After that lamentable Defeat at *Worcester*, the Church of *England*, which lay before in a very dismal and deplorable Estate, began now to be altogether desperate: For what could she do, now after that fatal Overthrow, destitute of all Hope of that Advantage she expected from the King's Protection? Or if there remained any Prospect of the Monarchy's being ever restored, it was at so great a distance, and so hard to be discovered, that there was Reason to fear at least, that before the Restoration could be brought about, all the Discipline of the Church, and the settled accustomed Order of worshipping God, would, even among such as were Enemies to Schism, be utterly lost, and sunk into Confusion. Besides, the few Bishops that were yet living, being almost worn out with bad Times and old Age, were not like to survive much longer: Nor was it easy for those who yet surviv'd, to substitute others in the room of such as were deceas'd, having more than one Obstruction to hinder them. And if the Episcopal Order should fail, together with the Bishops themselves, who were now fetching as it were their last Breath, and consequently the whole

Frame of the Church at once fall in ſunder, there ſeemed hardly to be the leaſt Glimpſe of Hope remaining, that the Church of *England* could ever afterward be reſtored; ſince there were none of the neighbouring Churches, in which that Primitive and Apoſtolic Order was ſtill preſerved, but what was too much an Enemy to our Reformation, to give us a new Succeſſion of Biſhops, without obtruding upon us at the ſame Time all the Innovations admitted into the Church in the Ages of her Corruption. Of ſo little Moment it was to have proved (as was obſerved above) that the Succeſſion of Biſhops in the Church of *England* had continued uninterrupted from the beginning, if now at laſt it ſhould come to an end in the miſt of our civil Diſſentions. It ſeemed therefore altogether neceſſary to ſecure the Church in theſe two Particulars; One, leſt being ſhaken by Storms of Perſecution ſhe ſhould bear no Fruit on her Branches: The other, leſt ſhe ſhould wither in her very Root, of which in a few Years there was great Danger. To ſecure theſe two Points was a Work of no little Difficulty: For the Biſhops, what with their great Age and little Health, and the Imprisonment

sonment of one of the ablest Heads among them, as well as one of the stoutest Hearts, Dr. *Wrenn*, Lord Bishop of *Ely*, and perhaps the Indolence and Pusillanimity of ^d one or two of the rest, were very much hindered in the Prosecution of this Work; insomuch that it was almost impossible for them in those difficult Times to consult together what was fit to be done. But they gave Instructions to Mr. *Barwick*, not only to ride about among them all, and by proposing and explaining to each of them what was thought for the Church's Service, to collect the Opinions and Resolutions of every one of them upon all difficult Affairs, but also to procure the Communication of all that was needful between their Lordships and his Majesty, which he frequently did by Letters written in Characters. Sometimes also Mr. ^e *Richard Allestrey* of *Oxford*,
a Man

^d Dr. *Brownrigg* Bishop of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Skinner* Bishop of *Oxford*, both complained of on this Occasion a little below.

^e He was admitted Commoner of Christ Church in *Oxford*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Richard Busby* Anno 1636, at the Age of fifteen, and half a Year after made Student of that House. In 1642 he took Arms for the King under Sir *Johns Byron*, and bore a Musket among the Scholars of *Oxford* Garrison. He proceeded Master of Arts Anno 1643, and was a noted

a Man of extraordinary Learning and Piety, was let into a dangerous Share of this Negotiation, being sent to *Brussels* to do that by Word of Mouth, which could not so conveniently be done by Letter. The Decay of Church Discipline, and the Neglect of God's Worship seemed to require the particular Care of those, who had the Management of these Affairs at Heart. But seeing there was no sufficient Remedy to be provided against these Evils, but in a full Synod of Bishops, the first Thing to be done was to consecrate new Bishops in

ted Tutor in Christ Church, till ejected by the Parliament-Visors: After which he was entertained as Chaplain by *Francis Newport*, Esq; (afterwards Lord *Newport*) till *Worcester* Fight; after which he attended the King at *Rouen* in *Normandy*, and brought his Dispatches into *England*. Then he lived privately in *Oxford* with Mr. *John Dolben*, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, and Mr. *John Fell*, afterwards Bishop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Christ Church*, who officiated to the Loyalists there in the Service of the Church of *England*; and being thence invited to Sir *Anthony Cope's* at *Hanwell*, continued there many Years, making several Excursions on the King's Affairs, till taken at *Dover* in the Winter 1659, he was kept Prisoner in *Lambeth-House*, untill the Restoration approached, on which *Anno* 1660, he was made Canon of *Christ Church*, soon after which he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and was chosen one of the Lecturers of *Oxford*. *Anno* 1663 (being then one of the King's Chaplains) he was made *Regius* Professor of Divinity there, and *Anno* 1665, Provost of *Eaton*. He died *January* 28, 1680. *A. Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 505, 506.* See his Life by Dr. *Fell* in the Preface to his forty Sermons.

the room of those that were dead, many of the Sees being then vacant. It was no small Hindrance to a Work of so great Difficulty, that Persons fit for the Episcopal Office, and approv'd of by his Majesty, could not be chosen after the accustomed Manner; because the Chapters of the several Churches were every where almost either wholly extinguished, or so disturbed, that they could not meet in the Chapter-House to make a regular Election. Some, to remove this Impediment, advis'd, that such as were thought meet to be advanced to the Government of the Church, should receive Imposition of Hands from the Bishops only upon the King's Nomination, omitting the Solemnity of an Election, in their Opinion of more Danger than Use: Thinking by this compendious Method they should more consult the Honour of the Royal Prerogative, and the Safety both of the Consecrators and of the Consecrated, (which was in the utmost Danger) than by all the tedious *Apparatus* of an Election: But that Method of making Bishops was not esteemed by the Clergy to be altogether so conformable to the Practice of the Church delivered down from the first Ages;

and they chose rather to incur the utmost Dangers, than not pay all due Regard to the Laws of the Catholick Church, yet taking sufficient Care in the mean Time (as was but just) that the Royal Prerogative should suffer no Ineroachment. For this Reason Mr. *Barwick*, in the Name of the Clergy, most humbly besought his Majesty, to grant the Bishops his Commission under the Broad Seal, to meet together in a Synod, and after the Custom of the Primitive Church elect others by their unanimous Suffrage; for by this Method it was conceived, they should most conveniently stop the Mouths of all sorts of Adversaries, who from every lightest Cause, and often even from mere Fictions, caught at an Occasion to calumniate the Church in that sad Day of her Calamity. Nor indeed did the King make any Difficulty to grant what Mr. *Barwick* requested, that no Violence might be offered to the Institutions of the truly Catholick Church, which his Majesty desired by all Means should be religiously regarded and observed (as was meet) by the Church of *England*. Nay, he did not only graciously favour this pious Undertaking, but promoted it with the utmost Zeal for
God's

God's Honour; and if there happened to be any, to whom it appertained to forward this Work, who treated it with the least Coldness and Indifference, his Majesty, as the nursing Father of the Church, thought it very proper by his Chancellor, a zealous Promoter thereof, to reprove their Backwardness, and spur them on to more Diligence ^f. And with what Application the great Minister of State discharged the Province his Majesty appointed him in this Affair, and on the other hand with what unwearied Piety and Affection Mr. *Barwick* executed the Trust on this behalf, committed to him by the Church, will more evi-

^f Dr. King Bishop of *Chichester*, in his Sermon preached at the Funeral of Bishop *Duppa*, makes very honourable mention of *this great Care of his Majesty to preserve and support the Church at that Time, when in his exil'd Condition (as the Bishop observes) he could not well support himself.* And since it is mentioned in no other Author, that I know of, but one or two, that had it from Dr. *Barwick's* Manuscript Letters, before they were published, it is much to be wondered, that my Lord *Clarendon*, who had himself so honourable a Share in that Negotiation, and could have given so good an Account of it from his own Knowledge, should not in his History have taken the least Notice of a Transaction so much for the Honour, not only of the King his Master, but of himself. My Author on this Occasion does Justice here, both to his Majesty, and to his Lordship, as well as to his Brother, whose Life he writes.

dently appear from those ^s Letters which passed between them on this Occasion: Some of the chief of them I would translate into Latin, and subjoin to this Life, but that it would swell the Work too much. Out of the rest I shall intersperse here and there what may be sufficient to illustrate the History in Matters relating both to Church and State.

But when the first of *August* was now at hand, Sir *George*^h *Booth*, Bart. of *Cheshire* (advanced afterwards to the Honour of Lord *De la Mer*) took Arms with his Countrymen, as he had engaged, on the Day

^s Those Letters and other original Papers relating to this History, being repositèd by our Author in St. *John's* College Library, together with his Manuscript of this Life, I thought it proper to publish them in an *Appendix* thereto; and concluding they would be much more acceptable to the Reader, and of more Authority, in the Language wherein they were written, than in any Translation, I published them in *English* (though in an Appendix to the Latin Life) as I have also in this, from the Originals.

^h Of *Dunham* in the County of *Chester*, Bart. paternally descended from a very antient and knightly Family of that Name in those Parts, and in *Lancashire*, and by Heirs Female from the *Massies* heretofore Barons of *Dunham*, as also from the *Montforts* and *Clintons*, honourable Families of this Realm: In Consideration of this well-intended Service, he was by Letters Patents, bearing date at *Westminster*, 20 April 13 Car. 2. made Baron of *England* by the Title of Lord *De la Mer* of *Dunham-Massy*. *Dugd. Bar. Vol. 2 p. 481.*

agreed upon over all the Kingdom. With him *Charles* ⁱ Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and other Persons of principal Note joined their auxiliary Forces with great Alacrity. But Colonel *Venables* lay concealed, waiting to surprize the Garison of *Chester* from the Enemies, if this Attempt should succeed. But the rest that were to join in this noble Undertaking, and lay in readiness not only at *London* (where the whole Matter was concerted) but all over *England*, being betrayed by the incredible Perfidiousness of a certain ^k Person, who was not only engaged in this Business, but in some Measure had the chief Direction of it, that *Cheshire* Body of Men, composed of such as were raw and unaccustomed to War, were easily routed by the Veteran Soldiers. After this Overthrow Mr. *Barwick* seems

ⁱ Son of Earl *James*, that noble Champion for the Royal Cause, and of that invincible Heroine Countess *Charlotte*, Daughter to the Duke of *Tremouille*, by whom that illustrious Family is allied to most of the greatest Princes in *Europe*. On the Murder of his Father by the Rebels, *Oct. 15, 1651*, he succeeded not only to his Honours, but to the Constancy and Loyalty of both his Parents. He died the 21st of *December 1672*. (*Dugd. Bar. Vol. 2. p. 251, &c.*) and was succeeded in their Turns by his two Sons *William-Richard-George* the late, and *James* the present Earl. *Brit. Compend. or Rudiments of Honour, Part 1. p. 79.*

^k Sir *Richard Willis*. See Note p. 185.

not to have written to the Chancellor till the 9th Day of *September*; on receipt of which Letter the Chancellor congratulates his Escape from the late Treachery in the following Answer.

S I R,

“ I cannot express the Satisfaction I received in receiving your’s of the 9th of this Month, which is the only Letter I have had from you since the 25th of *July*: Nor have I, since the Noise of the late Disasters, ventured to write to you, not knowing where, or in what Condition you are. And I am very confident, some of mine, which were put into honest Hands, are yet upon the Way towards you, and will come safe at last, the Winds having for these two or three Months been nothing favourable to the Passengers from these Parts.

“ I shall not trouble you nor my self with discoursing upon the late Misfortunes and Misadventures, of the Grounds whereof I am totally ignorant, more than what relates to the Treachery of one ill Man; and how that should make so many Persons fail in their Undertakings, I cannot comprehend.

“ comprehend. It is a singular Comfort to
 “ me, and I am sure will exceedingly please
 “ the King, that you retain the same Vi-
 “ gour of Mind, and are as intent as ever
 “ upon contriving all Expedients for the
 “ Advancement of his Service: And I am
 “ very sure, his Majesty will be very well
 “ pleased with what you propose concern-
 “ ing *Northamptonshire*, which yields few
 “ Persons of Value, with whom we have
 “ any Correspondence. I doubt not, but I
 “ shall shortly send you a Letter to the
 “ Gentleman you mention; who if he be like
 “ his Grandfather, whose Name he bears,
 “ will be able to do more Good, than his
 “ Father did Hurt.

“ I know very well, that the Clergy have
 “ a very great Interest in that Country. I
 “ wish you could assure me, that they are
 “ better disposed, than they have heretofore
 “ been. You will use your Credit, to keep
 “ that Gentleman’s Heart right; and you
 “ may with a good Conscience say all
 “ Things of Acception and Kindness from
 “ the King to him; and that he shall
 “ shortly receive the Evidence of it from
 “ himself.

“ I hope you do not discontinue your
 “ Negotiation in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and
 “ that the Persons themselves there are
 “ firm to those Principles, which they own-
 “ ed to you; and then I doubt not, there
 “ will come a good Season for the Disco-
 “ very. I cannot imagine, that the other
 “ Address to *Monk* could in any Degree
 “ interfere with the Design of your Friend,
 “ which I conceive must be rather advan-
 “ ced by it. I long very much to receive
 “ the other Dispatch you mention with
 “ the Precedents; and I shall have an Op-
 “ portunity by the same long Conveyance
 “ within two or three Days to write again
 “ to you, in which I shall enlarge upon
 “ the Business of the Church, in which
 “ you would think me the more imperti-
 “ nent, if all I had writ were come to your
 “ Hands. In the mean Time you must for-
 “ give me to tell you, that I am deceived
 “ if the Bishop of *Oxford* make good his
 “ Word, or if he be not less disposed to it,
 “ than most of the Function; and if he
 “ does deceive me, I will ask his Pardon
 “ heartily. I did write to you by the King’s
 “ Direction, that the Bishop of *Ely* would
 “ recommend a Person for *Carlisle*; and you
 “ need

“ need not doubt his Majesty’s Approbati-
 “ on, that there be a Bishop consecrated for
 “ the *Isle of Man*. I know not whether
 “ the Collation be in the Earl of *Derby*.

“ I do beseech you, that your next Let-
 “ ter may bring me an Assurance, that
 “ our worthy sick Friend is perfectly re-
 “ covered, and that he is not too much
 “ cast down upon the last Misfortunes. I
 “ must recommend honest *Grig. Palden* to
 “ your Care, that when you have any Mo-
 “ ney to dispose of, he may receive twenty
 “ Pound. He is a very good Youth, and
 “ deserves well from his Majesty. If you
 “ see him, pray let him know, that I have
 “ received two or three Letters from him ;
 “ but he gives me no Advice, how mine
 “ should find him, which he should do. I
 “ wish you all Happiness, and am heartily,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

26. Sept. 1659.

Hyde.

That Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, the
 offer of whose Service to the King the
 Chancellor congratulates in this Letter, was

Sir Henry^m Yelverton, Bart. whose Education from his Childhood had been too much tinctured with the Presbyterian Religion, from the Errors of which he easily extricated himself, as soon as to that Probity of Mind, which he had to great Perfection, he

^m Of *Easton Manduit* in that County, his Family antient and honourable, living sometime at *Rougham* in *Norfolk*. Sir *Christopher*, Great Grandfather, I suppose, to this Gentleman, was sometime one of the Justices of the King's Bench (*viz.* in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*) so was Sir *Henry* his Grandfather, after having been both Solicitor General and Attorney General, in the Reign of King *James*. See an Account of him in *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 463, 464.* Of that Sir *Henry's* Son, *Robert*, whom I take to have been this Gentleman's Father, I find no Account but that severe Reflection upon him in the Chancellor's Letter, only that in the Register of *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*, there is mention of *Robert Yelverton* of *Northamptonshire*, admitted Fellow Commoner there, *Feb. 26, 1618.* But *Robert's* Brother, Sir *Christopher Yelverton*, was about the Time of his Father Sir *Henry's* Death (*viz. Anno 1629.*) one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas. (*Wood ibid.*) This Sir *Henry* was born at *Easton Manduit*, baptized there *July 6, 1663,* educated in *St. Paul's School London*, admitted Gentleman Commoner of *Wadham College Anno 1650,* where he made great Proficiency in Learning, and was excelled by none of his Time in the Knowledge of the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages. Mr. *Wood* gives an account of several Pieces written and published by him (*Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 341.*) He died in the Flower of his Age, *October 3, 1670,* and was interred with his Ancestors at *Eaton Manduit*, leaving behind him by *Susan* his Wife, sole Daughter and Heir of *Charles* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, *Charles* his eldest Son, afterwards a Nobleman of *Christ Church*, and called up to the House of Lords, where he took his Place as Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, and died of the Small-Pox unmarried *May 17, 1679.* *Wood ibid.* See also *Dugd. Bar. Vol. 1. p. 719. Collins's Baronetage of England. Vol. 2. p. 167, &c.*

had added an extraordinary Degree of good Learning. In his House about this Time, the Bishop of *Durham*, the only Prelate of the Province of *York* then surviving, departed this Life to the no little Delay of the Church Affair, which was then in Hand. Sir *Henry* had invited this excellent Bishop, in his extreme old Age and ill Health, to sojourn with him, had done him all the good Offices in his Power, and having treated him as a Parent as long as he lived, buried him honourably when he was dead. Mr. *Barwick* attended his venerable Patron, and administered to him in his last Sickness, and preached a Funeral Sermon at his Exequies, which were attended with a great Concourse of the Clergy and People of Condition. This Sermon, together with the holy Prelate's Life composed by him, he afterwards published, and dedicated it (as was intimated above) to the King. In the mean Time he wrote the following Epitaph inscribed on his Tomb, wherein he seems to have brought into a narrow Compass the extensive Materials of a very long and no less remarkable Life, and as it were in a small Picture to have given the Reader no ill View of that great Man.

In Memoriâ sacrâ,
 Hic vivit usque & usque vivat
 Exiguum etiam illud quod mortale fuit

Viri

Pietate, Literis,
 Hospitalitate, Eleemosynis
 celeberrimi,
 Reverendi in Christo Patris ac Domini
 Thomæ Dunelmensis Episcopi,
 Eoque nomine Palatini Comitis,
 Clarâ Mortonorum familiâ oriundi;

Quem

Richardo peperit Elizabetha Leedale;
 Sexto de novendecim puerperio
 Eboraci in lucem editum.

Quem

Collegium S. Johannis Evangelistæ
 In Academiâ Cantabrigiensi perquam nobile
 Alumnum fovit instructissimum,
 Socium ambivit selectissimum,
 Benefactorem sensit Munificentissimum;
 Ornamentum perpetuo celebrabit singulare.

Quem

Ecclesia

Marstoniensis, Alesfordiensis, Stopfordiensis
 Rectorem sedulum,
 Eboracensis
 Canonicum pium,
 Glocestriensis, Wintoniensis
 Decanum providum,

Cestriensis;

*In sacred Memory,
Here still survives, and may here survive still
Even that little which was mortal
of a Man*

*For Piety, Learning,
Hospitality, and Alms most famous,
The Right Reverend Father of God
Thomas Lord Bishop of Durham,
And in that Capacity Count Palatine,
Descended from the antient Family of
Morton,
Whom*

*Elizabeth, of the Family of Leedale,
Brought forth at York
The sixth of nineteen Children,
To her Husband Richard Morton.*

Whom

*The famous College of St. John the Evangelist
In the University of Cambridge
Bred a very learned Scholar of the House,
Chose a most worthy Fellow,
Enjoyed a most munificent Benefactor,
And will always honour as a singular Orna-
ment.*

Whom

*The Churches of
Marston, Alesford, and Stopford,
Experienc'd a diligent Rector,
The Cathedral of York
A pious Canon,
Those of Gloucester and Winchester,
A Provident Dean,*

Cestriensis, Leichf. & Coventr. Dunelmensis
Præsulem vigilantem
habuere.

Qui

Post plurimos pro sanctâ Ecclesiâ Christi Ca-
tholicâ

Exantlatos labores,
Elucubrata volumina,
Toleratas afflictiones,
Diurnâ (heu! nimium) Ecclesiæ procellâ
Hinc inde jactatus,

Huc demum appulsus,
Bonis exutus omnibus,
Bonâ præterquam famâ & conscientiâ,
Tandem etiam & corpore,
Senex & cælebs,

Hic requiescit in Domino,
Felicem præstolans resurrectionem,

Quam

Suo demum tempore
Bonus dabit Deus. Amen.

Nullo non dignus elogio,
Eò vero dignior,
Quòd nullo se dignum æstimaverit.

Obiit

Craftino Sancti Matthæi,
Sepultus festo Sancti Michaelis,

Anno

Salutis M. DC. LIX. Ætatis XCV. Epif-
copatûs xliv.

*Those of Chester, Litchfield and Coventry,
and Durham*

A vigilant Prelate.

Who

*After very many Labours undergone,
Volumes written,*

And Afflictions suffered

For Christ's holy Catholick Church,

In the Storm that lay upon her, too long alas!

Tossed to and fro,

And at length driven hither,

Depriv'd of all his Goods,

Except a good Name, and a good Conscience,

And at last also of his Body,

In a good old Age, and the State of Celibacy,

Rests here in the Lord,

Expecting a happy Resurrection,

Which

God will at last grant in his own Time ; Amen.

Worthy of all Praise,

And so much the more,

As he esteemed himself worthy of none.

He died ⁿ

The Day after the Feast of St. Matthew,

And was buried on that of St. Michael,

In the { 1659th } *Year of* { Christ,
 { 95 } { His Age,
 { 44 } { His Consecration.

ⁿ At Easton Manduit in Northamptonshire. Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2.
p. 732.

After the Death of this great Man there were only ten ° Bishops surviving, who were all desirous to be thought equally concerned for the ruined State of the Church, but certainly did not all seem to labour with equal Fortitude and Constancy to raise her up and support her: For there were two of them, the Bishop of *Oxford* and the Bishop of *Exeter*, who with I know not what little Objections something retarded the most hearty Endeavours of the rest. One of these you may see censured, or at least suspected in the Chancellor's last Letter ^p. But I shall have occasion hereafter to say something of them both. To these two, and to these only of all the Bishops, the Liberty of preaching in Publick was indulged by those who were then in Power, that they might seem forsooth to do some Credit to their ill

* Dr. *William Juxon* Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Brian Duppa* Bishop of *Sarum*, Dr. *Robert Skinner* Bishop of *Oxford*, Dr. *Ralph Brownrigg* Bishop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Matthew Wrenn* Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *John Warner* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *William Roberts* Bishop of *Bangor*, Dr. *William Pierce* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *Henry King* Bishop of *Chicheſter*, and Dr. *Accepted Frewen* Bishop of *Litchfield and Coventry*. Of these soon after the Restoration Bishop *Juxon* was translated to *Canterbury*, Bishop *Frewen* to *York*, Bishop *Duppa* to *Wincheſter*, and Bishop *Skinner* to *Worceſter*.

^p Supra p. 210.

gotten Government by Acts that were not ill. And this perhaps was the Reason, that these venerable Persons prosecuted the Business of the Church with less Application than was fit, lest they should seem to render themselves unworthy of this Favour of the Usurpers, and perhaps on that account suffer more severely for having any Share in so good a Work.

After the Defeat of the Royalists in *Cheshire*, Sir *Thomas Middleton* escaped safe to *London*. The Earl of *Derby* (for I mention those only, with whom Mr. *Barwick* corresponded) unhappily fell into the Hands of the Rebels: But soon after had the good Fortune to make his Escape out of Prison. Colonel *Venables* being not in the Action, watching an Opportunity (as was said above) to perform his Duty in another Place, kept himself private, and perhaps not much suspected. The King himself (who lay concealed in a disguised Habit, with almost no Retinue, on the neighbouring Coast of *France*, to put himself at the Head of this Expedition, had it succeeded better) no sooner heard of this Defeat, but crossing all that Country, he went to the *Pyrenean* Mountains: For at that Time there was

an Interview there between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to compose the Differences between those two Nations ; and having both now made Peace according to their Desire, they promised their Forces should be ready to assist their Kinsman the King of *England*. In the mean Time General *Lambert*, who had commanded the Rebels Army in the late Victory, did not only lay waste the Lands of the Royalists, who had bore Arms against him, and plundered their Houses, but pulled down *Chirk* Castle, the noble Seat of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to the Ground : And then at last, elated with a Victory he thought so glorious, and become stronger with an Augmentation of Forces transported from *Ireland*, with an Arrogance not inferior to *Cromwell's*, he trampled upon the new Common-wealth, under which he had hitherto served, and resolved to march his Army against General *Monk*, whom he knew to be no Friend to his enormous Tyranny. But as his Majesty was by no Means remiss himself in negotiating his own Affairs with the Kings of *France* and *Spain* : So his honourable Chancellor seemed no less diligent in transacting with those in *England*, what appertained to his

his Province. It is certain he pressed Mr. *Barwick* in more ^a Letters than one, to sollicite his Majesty's Affairs in all the three Kingdoms, but particularly in *Scotland*, with all possible Diligence, and desired he would procure, that it might be intimated to General *Monk* in the King's Name, that if he would freely and readily come over to his Majesty's Interest, either the King himself, or one of his Royal Brothers should join him with no inconsiderable Body of Men, before he could be forced to engage with the Enemy, who was much superior to him in Number, and was like to give him Battel very soon. But General *Monk* still concealed his Intentions with the utmost Secrecy and Reserve, not admitting his most trusty Friend Colonel *Clobery*, nor even his own dearest Brother into the deep Secrets of his Heart; and absolutely declined receiving from his Majesty either the Letter mentioned ^r above, or any other Messages whatever: For he learnt not only from the Falshood of those Enthusiastick Officers that hitherto almost filled his Ar-

^a See *Appendix* N^o. xi, xiv, xvi, xvii, xix, xxvi, xxix, & sup. p. 210.

^r Page 194.

my, and were throughly instructed in *Cromwell's* Arts and Deceits, but also from the clancular Slyness of some, who desired to be thought as much in the King's Interest as any, that no Mortal was to be trusted rashly. However when almost every one else now despaired of the Royal Cause, Mr. *Otway* thought it one Indication at least of the General's not wishing ill to it, that he made use of Colonel *Clobery's* Assistance and Advice to purge the Army of all such Officers, as he could not confide in; and did this the more willingly, because he knew he was in the King's Interest. For the General had found him by Experience a Man exactly made after his own Mind, honest, silent, wary, and as well in Courage as in Counsel equal to those arduous Affairs which his Excellence was undertaking: But the utmost he would promise to any Man living was, that he would oppose the ravaging Tyranny of some, who lay in wait to destroy the Liberty of the Commonwealth, and trampled upon the Authority of the Parliament. But as soon as he had in some Measure purged his Army of suspected Officers, and put trusty Garisons into the Places of most Strength in *Scotland*, being

ing now secure from behind, he thinks of marching towards *England*. But he sends three Commissioners to *London* before him (of whom Colonel *Clobery* was the chief) furnished with Instructions, on pretence of making Peace with the Enemy, if it were possible; but in reality, that he might make a better Estimate of their Forces, and use his Endeavours to diminish them. Nor did this Design fail of Success; for by this Artifice he did not only bring over to his Interest *Portsmouth*, a Town of great Strength, and most commodious for his Affairs; but Colonel *Clobery* also by this Means gained a convenient Opportunity both of conversing again with Mr. *Otway*, lately returned to *London* from *Scotland*, and likewise of consulting with Colonel *Redman*, who lodg'd at Mr. *Otway's* House, and of concerting Measures almost daily both with him and his Friend Mr. *Barwick*. For the chief Point he had to manage with his Friend Colonel *Redman* was, that he would use his Endeavours to draw away from *Lambert's* Army the *Irish* Forces, which had lately served under him. Colonel *Redman* willingly promises to attempt this noble Enterprize, and cheerfully undertakes a Journey towards

Yorkshire,

Yorkshire, where those Forces were then encamped, that he might give all the Help he could to General *Monk*, then entring into *England*. That noble Wing of the *Irish* Army had three Troops, of which Colonel *Redman* had the greatest Hopes: He resolv'd therefore to solicit the Revolt of these first. But these Troops no sooner saw their former long desired Colonel, but they had their new Commanders *Axtel* and *Zanchy* shift for themselves, openly protesting, they would serve hereafter under none but Colonel *Redman*: And their Example was followed by the whole Wing, to the Number of fifteen hundred Horse.

This Revolt of the *Irish* Auxiliaries, with some other Inconveniencies which attended it, greatly enervated *Lambert's* Forces, and broke their Courage, and also removed out of General *Monk's* Way whatever could have obstructed his March up to *London*, opening him a free Passage through all the Country; who address him in his Way with Congratulations, not obscurely intimating their Desire to see their antient Laws and Government restored. But the General did not think it even yet safe to declare openly for the King; since many of those, who

were for restraining *Lambert's* immoderate Ambition and Thirst of Government, were yet not undeservedly suspected to have no Affection for his Majesty. For, to say nothing of those, indeed no small Number, who long possessed with I know not what Fanatick *Demon*, were endeavouring to throw every thing into Confusion, and submit all to the licentious Discretion of the Soldiers; there were some, who though willing to repent of what was past, yet imagined they had offended too heinously against the King, to be pardoned even by a Prince of his unparallel'd Mercy: And those who had transgress'd perhaps less than the rest, thought they had Reason to fear, lest being hitherto enriched with the Spoils of the Crown, and of the King's Friends, they should be obliged after his Majesty's Restoration to make due Restitution both to him and them.

But although General *Monk* was sufficiently apprized, that in all the Counties they were extremely weary of the new Tyranny, and very well affected to the King, and were standing as it were in readiness to deliver their Country from that grievous Yoak: yet he thought it a Matter of no little Danger for them

to join Battel with the Veteran Soldiers; since though inspired with the most generous Warmth and Zeal for his Majesty's Service, and even far superior in Number to their Enemies, yet they were most of them not much skill'd in War, and through the Treachery of some could not be easily drawn together into one Body. That he might not therefore seem to slight the Authority of the Parliament, which he had undertaken to defend, he was obliged to make shew of a great Readiness to obey the Orders even of that scandalous *Rump* of a House, which *Cromwell* formerly dissolved, as like to be useles or troublesome to him, after the King's Murther; and who had now taken Possession of their Seats again, and usurped not only the Authority of Parliament, but the Sovereignty. Their Commands, however invidious, he for some Time did not decline to execute, by their Order breaking down the Gates and Portcullices of the City of *London*; because the Citizens had refused to pay their Duties and Customs with their usual Readiness. It was a very great Mortification to the Royalists, to see a Man, from whom they had promised themselves such great Things, now after he had

had conquered *Lambert* even without a Battel, to become a Tool to execute the Orders of the King's most inveterate Enemies, even those who had deeply dyed their Hands in his Royal Father's Blood; and to give the Rebels no light Hopes, that he would be their Slave to do all their most detestable Drudgery. And now all the Subjects of *Britain* seemed to have submitted their Necks to a more grievous Yoak than usual; having all on a sudden exchanged the single Tyranny of *Cromwell* or *Lambert* alone, for one of a hundred Fold, that of a most cruel many-headed Monster. Nor were all good Men more afflicted, than they were ashamed, to see a Person of General *Monk's* Dignity, instead of asserting their oppressed Liberty, as they hoped, meanly stoop of his own Accord to pay the vilest and most slavish Service to the Tyranny of a few Wretches, loaded with the publick Hatred; he who with much less Envy might have taken the Government of the Commonwealth into his own Hands, if his incomparable Modesty, joined with an equal Degree of Fortitude and Prudence, would have permitted. Indeed all the Friends of the Monarchy and antient Laws, were at that

Time seiz'd with so great Despair, that they expected nothing more from him, than an universal Devastation of all Things: Nay before Matters came to this Extremity, the King himself had no other Hope of bringing the General over to his Interest, besides that alone, which was founded on Colonel *Clobery's* Negotiation; as abundantly appears from a Letter of the Chancellor to Mr. *Barwick*, dated *Brussels January 12, 1660*, in which there are these Words.

— “ I send you herewith two Letters from the King to your two Friends, which is all that his Majesty can think of, in order to *Monk*. Since he knows there is a Letter for him from the King, and has no Mind to receive it, he would have the same Shyness or Perverseness, if there were another sent, or any Messenger employed to him.— It is strange he, nor any of his Friends, should not let the King know of their Purposes, if indeed he has any good Purposes towards his Service. The whole

* Colonel *Clobery* and Mr. *Osway*.

“ Dependance the King hath of any Good
 “ from him, is from your Negotiation ; and
 “ therefore the Service cannot be valued e-
 “ nough : And I hope you will persuade
 “ Mr. *Otway* to pursue it effectually. *Ap-*
 “ *pend.* N^o. xix.

But when almost all Men stood astonish-
 ed at this most unworthy Servility of Ge-
 neral *Monk*, Colonel *Clobery* would not per-
 mit his Friends Mr. *Otway* and Mr. *Barwick*
 to despair of good Times ; telling them, it
 was incredible, that a Person of such hero-
 ick Virtue, and so studious of the Liberty
 of his Country, should perpetually submit
 to do the Drudgery of these Tyrants ; and
 assuring them, that both the General him-
 self, and almost all his inferior Officers had
 executed those hateful Orders with great
 Reluctance of Mind ; and for the Aversion
 they had shewed thereto, must hereafter
 pay dear, if in the mean Time the Usurpers
 were not dethroned : Nor did he make
 any doubt, but the greater Part at least of
 the common Soldiers (though otherwise un-
 settled in their Opinion, and hitherto divi-
 ded among themselves, which side to take ;
 yet when by these Wretches they should find

themselves defrauded of their Pay) would soon return to their Duty, perceiving themselves oppressed with the same Yoak of Slavery, under which all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms had now for a long Time groan'd. Nor is it to be imagin'd, continues he, that General *Monk* is doing any thing else, but watching an Opportunity with more Ease to throw these Tyrants down headlong from that Precipice, which by their insupportable Arrogance they have climb'd up, and make them the Instruments of their own Ruin.

But though Mr. *Barwick* had no Distrust in Colonel *Clobery*, yet he labour'd in the Business he had undertaken with as much Application, as if he had hitherto only deceived himself with vain groundless Hopes: For he was not willing to seem wiser than all other Men, who almost generally despaired of the Faith of the Soldiers: But as he left nothing unattempted among his Friends, whereby he might both learn himself, and inform the King, what General *Monk's* Inclinations were; so he received his Majesty's Commands, all written in his own Hand, almost every Week, and communicated them to many Persons of chief Note both in the City and in the Country.

Country. Among those who in the several Counties at that Time waited to receive his Majesty's Orders from Mr. *Barwick*, were these honourable Gentlemen following, *viz.* *Charles* Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry* *Yelverton* of *Northamptonshire*, Sir *Henry* *Cholmley* of *Yorkshire*, Colonel *Redman*, who by General *Monk's* Direction had quarter'd in *Cheshire* the *Irish* Forces abovementioned, and a Person never to be nam'd without Honour, the illustrious Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who by a Commission under the King's Hand and Seal, dated from *Brussels* the 24th of *January* 1659, was constituted Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in *North Wales*. There were also many

Who though upon Sir *John Hotham's* Refusal to give the King Entrance into *Hull*, and his Majesty's two Messages to the Parliament upon that Occasion, he was one of the Committee sent down by the Parliament to reside at *York*, to observe the King's Motions, and encourage their Friends; and was the Person that presented their Answer to those Messages in writing to his Majesty. (*Clarend. Hist. Vol. 1. B. 5. p. 515.*) yet afterwards he came over to the King's side, and was one of a very different Committee, *viz.* of that which was sent by the *Healing Parliament* to the *Hague*, to invite King *Charles* the Second to return, and take Possession of his three Kingdoms. (*Clarend. Hist. Vol. 3. B. 16. p. 768.*) His Affection to the Crown before this, and the great Services done by his Son, appear from the King's writing to the Father, mentioned in my Lord *Clarendon's* Letter of *March* the 8th, 1660. *Append. N^o. xxvi.* and from what his Lordship says of the Son, both in that and other Letters, *viz.* of *Jan. 22. Feb. 20. and Apr. 2.* the same Year. *Append. N^o. xxiv, xxv, xxviii.*

Citizens of *London* of principal Note, who were very zealous Promoters of the King's Interest, and with whom Mr. *Barwick* and Mr. *William Rombald*, a Person of great Integrity, and who had deserv'd very well of the Crown, concerted Measures almost every Day, and communicated the King's Pleasure to them. Some of the chief of these his Majesty by his Commission appointed to preside over all his Affairs in the City, and sent them the Instructions following.

Instructions for our Commissioners within the City of London, and the Liberties thereof.

Charles R.

I. **Y**OU shall meet together, as many as you can with Security, and after having read our Commission, you shall in the first Place proceed to the chusing of a Commander in Chief of all the Forces, which shall be raised for our Service within the said City of *London*, and Liberties thereof; and shall then make choice of such Persons of Interest and Reputation, as you think fit to be Colonels of Horse and Foot, and accordingly insert the Names of the one and

and the other in those Commissions which we have sent to you; by vertue whereof the said Persons shall take the several Commands upon them, and be obey'd accordingly.

II. You shall draw as many Persons of Interest and Quality as you can, to consult with you, and to join with you in the Engagement for our Service: And you shall let them know the great Kindness we have for that City, and our Resolution to uphold their Authority; and in renewing their Charter, to grant them all those Privileges and Immunities, which they have enjoyed under any of our Royal Ancestors; and that we will be very—— to enlarge the same in any new Concessions, which may advance their Honour, Wealth, and Happiness; and that we desire nothing more, than that we may owe our Restoration to the Courage and Affection of that City; and that they may wipe out the Memory of all that hath been done amiss by them, since the beginning of these Troubles.

III. You shall use your utmost Industry and Dexterity, to draw off as many of the Officers and Soldiers of the Army to join with you for our Service, as may be wrought
upon,

upon, by promising them their full Arrears, and such other Rewards and Preferments, as may be in our Power to give; and we will make good whatever you shall undertake for us; and you shall, at the Time you think it fit, make Proclamation in our Name, of Pardon to all Persons inhabiting or residing within the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, of all Treasons, Felonies, and other Misdemeanors, which in any Degree relate to the late Troubles, except only such, who sat upon, and condemned our Royal Father of blessed Memory to be murdered, and were Actors in the Execution of that odious Judgment: Provided that all such Persons,—are to have the Benefit of the said Pardon, forbear farther to conspire against us, and are forward and use their utmost Endeavours to advance our Service.

IV. You shall use your utmost Endeavours, to prevent any unseasonable and rash Attempts and Insurrections: And as we do commit the whole modelling and forming the Design to you, or the major Part; so we do refer the timing it entirely to your Discretion; and do not expect, that you shall appear in it, till in your own Judgments

you think it practicable, and best for our Service.

V. You shall let those Citizens of Interest, with whom you communicate, know, that we have so full a Resolution to uphold and preserve their Privileges and Rights in all Things, that if the present Lord Mayor can be wrought upon to serve us, or as soon as another shall be made choice of, who hath that Affection and Resolution, as soon as he shall declare it, this our Commission to you shall cease; except he thinks it necessary to continue, for the better carrying on the Publick Service: And the entire Command of that Militia shall be in him: And all Persons employed in it shall be obedient to his Orders. And if the Tower can be reduced, such a Lieutenant shall be put into it, as he thinks fit, and makes choice of: And we do not wish a better Man possessed of that Command, than Major General *Browne*.

VI. You shall communicate with our Commissioners of the general Trust, or with some of them in such a manner, that they may be ready to give you some Assistance from the Neighbour Counties, as you may stand in need of, and to perform all other
Offices,

Offices, which you think necessary for the better Advancement and carrying on of the Service; all of you in your several Stations, using all Means to suppress Factions and Animosities among those who wish us well, upon Titles and Superiority of Command; since we shall think our self as much beholden (and in some Cases and Circumstances more) to those who obey cheerfully, as to those who shall command most successfully.

C. R.

From this Specimen may be judged, what was the Estate of the *British* Kingdom at that Time. But the Church was in a worse Condition: For the Kingdom could hardly die; whereas the Church could very easily; having very few Hands to support it; and those weak and languishing with old Age; though the Persons had been ever so faithful to her, as it is certain some were not. For although his Majesty, beyond almost all Expectation, should be suddenly restored to his Throne, yet what Hopes was there of the Church, still attack'd and undermin'd by the several Engines and Devices of so many Sects? Indeed the wisest among those,
 who

who had the Management of the Church Affair, were of Opinion, that it ought by all Means to be hasten'd, and the Episcopal Succession provided for out of Hand: For they were afraid, lest his Majesty should by the importunate Petitions of some, who encouraged the Faction under a fraudulent Pretence of composing Dissentions, be solicited to yield, that nothing at all should be done relating in any wise either to the Advantage or Disadvantage of the Clergy, till Matters being more maturely weighed, some Expedient should be thought on, by the common Consent of all the disagreeing Parties, to reconcile the different Opinions of them all; a Thing absolutely impossible. If such as favoured the Schism had been able to obtain this, they might easily have promised themselves, that by the continual Doubts, which the Followers of the several Parties should suggest, they might so long protract the Time, till all the Bishops were dead, and the Church itself expir'd with them: And though his Majesty was too much aware of their Frauds, to be impos'd upon by them; yet (what was hard enough) he might be loaded with the Envy of having refus'd to be deluded by those ill Men's

Deceits,

Deceits, when they were so specious. These anxious Thoughts, at this Time gave Mr. *Allestrey* and Mr. *Barwick* twice as much Business as they had before: Nor is it easy to say, how much this pious Design, not only approv'd, but zealously promoted by almost all the holy Order, was yet retard-ed by the unbecoming Timorousness of one or two of them. The Number of those whose Business it was to take care of the Government of the Church, began now to be lessen'd: For after the Death of the Bishop of *Durham*, three Months were not pass'd, before the Bishop of *Exeter*^c died. He was esteem'd indeed a Man of Gravity and Prudence, a good Orator, and a constant Preacher, and one that led a holy Life, as a private Man. And with these Virtues he was willing to be thought sufficiently to have discharg'd the Duty of a good Bishop: But certainly he may be justly censur'd, as not having prosecuted the publick Business of the Church with sufficient Application; since in a Letter dated *January 22^d 1660*, we find his Backwardness therein

^c Dec. 7, 1659. See Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 23, 24.

thus reflected upon by the Chancellor:
 “ I will not enlarge upon the Death of the
 “ Bishop of *Exeter*; because I will charge
 “ Mr. *Allestrey* with that Discourse, in
 “ which I can use no Patience. If that
 “ Bishop were long sick, I would be glad
 “ to hear, how he express’d himself to those
 “ Friends who were about him, in those
 “ Particulars, in which he suffer’d in his
 “ Reputation, of not being zealous for the
 “ Church. *Append. N^o. xxiv.*

For he was formerly that Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* above ^u mention’d, on whom it was incumbent at that Time with more Courage to have oppos’d the new Covenant of the Rebels; and now again in the Business of the Publick was either too negligent, or too cautious. The Bishop of *Oxford* likewise fram’d I know not what ^w Excuses, and those very frivolous, to hinder the Work, raising little trifling Objections against the incomparable Dr. ^x *Hammond*,

^u Page 16, and 41.

^w See above p. 210, 218. and *Append. N^o. xxv.*

^x *Henry*, youngest Son of Dr. *John Hammond*, Physician to Prince *Henry*, born at *Chertsey* in *Surry*, August 26, 1605, nam’d at the Font by the Prince: Descended by his Mother from Dr.

mond, nominated by his Majesty to the
Bishoprick

Dr. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *St. Paul's*, a great Instrument of the Reformation: Bred at *Eaton School*, and thence admitted of *St. Mary Magdalen's College* in *Oxford* at the Age of thirteen, of which he was chosen *Demie*, *August 26, 1605*, proceeded A. B. the same Year, and A. M. *Anno 1625*, and *July* the 26th that Year was elected Fellow, at which Time being Natural Philosophy-Lecturer, he spoke one of the two Funeral Orations on the President *Dr. Langton*. *Anno 1629* he went into holy Orders, and supplying one of *Dr. Frewen* the then President's Courses at Court *Anno 1633*, the Earl of *Leicester* was so affected with his Sermon, that he immediately gave him the Rectory of *Penfeshurst* then void, to which he was inducted *August* the 22^d that Year, where he had Prayers daily, and twice on *Saturdays* and *Holy-days*, and a Sacrament every Month, from the Offertory providing for the Poor of the Parish, and raising a Fund for apprentising poor Children, &c. In 1639 he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and was about the same Time chosen a Member of the Convocation which sat with the short Parliament in 1640, as afterwards in that which was called with the long one, and was named to be of the Assembly of Divines. In 1643 he was promoted to the Arch-deaconry of *Chichester*, by the unsought Favour of *Dr. Duppa*, then Bishop of that Diocese. In the middle of *July* that Year, on the Defeat of an Attempt in the King's Behalf, made in the Doctor's Neighbourhood about *Tunbridge*, and supposed to be encouraged by his Doctrine and Example, he retired to his old Tutor *Dr. Buckner*, and thence, in a few Weeks to *Oxford*, on a Ramour of a hundred Pound Reward offered to any one that should produce him. Thence he attended the Duke of *Richmond* and Earl of *Southampton* to *London* in Quality of their Chaplain, when they were sent by the King to procure the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, and was afterwards chosen to assist at that Treaty. In his Absence the King made him Canon of *Christ Church*, and the University of *Oxford* chose him their publick Orator. Preferments he very unwillingly accepted, through an impatient Desire of returning to his Parish; which proving impracticable in *March 1645*, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, probably the last Person assumed to that Service. In that Quality he attended upon the King during his Captivity,

Bishoprick of *Worcester*⁹; as though (forsooth)
it

ty (as soon as the Army had taken his Majesty out of the Hands of the Parliament Commissioners, and allowed him the Service of some few of his Chaplains) waiting on him in the several Removes of *Woburn*, *Caveham*, and *Hampton-Court*, and thence to the Isle of *Wight*, and continuing there till *Christmas* 1647, that his Majesty's Attendants were again put from him, he then returned to *Oxford*, where being Sub-Dean of Christ-Church, and the Dean then in Prison for his Loyalty, the entire Management of the College lay upon him, till he was turned out by the Visitors, and together with Dr. *Sheldon* made a Prisoner in *Oxford*, whence, after ten Weeks, by the Interposition of his Brother-in-Law Sir *John Temple*, he was removed to *Clapham* in *Bedfordshire*, the House where his Friend Sir *Philip Warwick* lived, where *Jan.* 15, 1648, he drew up an Address to the General and Council of Officers, to dissuade them from the Trial and Murther of the King which then approach'd. After the King's Murther, being releas'd from his Confinement, he retired to Sir *John Packington's* at *Westwood* in *Worcestershire*, and when King *Charles* the Second came to *Worcester*, had the Honour to wait upon him there, and to receive a Letter from his own Hand, to assure his Subjects of his Majesty's Adherence to the Religion of the Church of *England*, for which his Royal Father had died a Martyr. His learned and pious Works were the chief Employment of this and his former Retirements, a full Account of which, and the particular Occasions of each you have in his Life written by Bishop *Fell*, and prefixt to them. The Month before the Restoration, knowing his Majesty designed to promote him to the See of *Worcester*, among other Charities he was projecting for that City, he bent his Mind particularly on the Repair of the Cathedral, and laid the Foundation of a considerable Advance to that Work; but when he was daily expecting to be called to that Charge from his beloved Retirements, on the 4th of *April* he was seized with a violent Fit of the Stone, which after some Abatement returned on the 8th, and on the 25th he departed this Life in the fifty fifth Year of his Age. See a fuller Account of him in his Life now mentioned, and *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 158, 159.*

⁹ In a Manuscript Note on Dr. *Price's Mystery and Method of*
R his

it had been contrary to the Practice of all Ages, to promote any one immediately from the Degree of a *Presbyter* to so noble a See, fitter, as was pretended, to be bestowed upon one, that had some Time enjoyed an inferior Bishoprick; When yet (to say nothing of others) the very last² Bishop of *Worcester* had been advanced to that See immediately from the Degree of a *Presbyter*. It was certain, that in the Opinion of all good Men, Dr. *Hammond* would have greatly adorn'd that Diocese, where he had dwelt some Years in this disturb'd State of Things, and (to say nothing of his immense Erudi-

his Majesty's happy Restoration, p. 38. I find it observed, that the King gave Authority to Dr. *Duppa* then Bishop of *Salisbury*, and other Bishops (not there named) to consecrate Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Lacy*, Dr. *Ferne*, and Dr. *Walton*, and that the Warrant was brought from *Brussels* by Mr. *Allestrey* in May 1659. The Writer of this Note does not cite his Authority, but seems to be well assured of what he advances in this and a few other Manuscript Notes on that Book; because he directs what he has writ on the Margin, to be inserted into the Body of the Book, not as Notes, but Additions and Amendments; which looks as if it had been done by Dr. *Price* himself.

² Dr. *John Prideaux*, who from Rector of *Ewelme* in *Oxfordshire*, Canon of *Christ Church*, and *Regius* Professor of *Divinity* in *Oxford*, was advanced to this See Nov. 22^d, 1641, and dying July 29, 1650, the See continued vacant ten Years, till the Promotion of Dr. *George Morley* thereto Oct. 9, 1660 *Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Angl.* p. 299, 300. *A. Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. 2.* p. 69.

tion) was universally esteem'd and reverenc'd, as a most illustrious Example of Primitive Piety. But he was accounted more worthy to enjoy a Throne among the Saints in Heaven; for he soon after ^z departed this Life, to the no small Addition of Grief to the Church in that her mournful Estate.

When the King thought it became his Prudence to nip (as it were) in the Bud all Factions and Animosities apt to rise in the civil and military State (as in his Majesty's Instructions sent to the City of *London* has been taken Notice of ^a above) it is hardly to be express'd, how much the greater Part of the Clergy was asham'd, that one or two it may be of their own sacred Order, from whom they had hop'd much better, and who ought to have been to all the Laity Examples of Christian Fortitude and Modesty, should yet have incurr'd the Imputation of ungovernable Animosity, and base Cowardice. And as true and sincere Piety had the greatest Abhorrence of both these

^z April 25, 1660. the Day the *Healing Parliament* met, which called home the King. See below p. 255.

^a Page 236.

Vices: So, that the Crime of Ambition in Times so calamitous could steal into Mens Minds, is what could hardly be believ'd, if some of *Christ's* most holy Apostles had not been too much inclined to the same Vice even then, when the Bark of the Church was tossed in at least no less Waves of Persecution. Besides these two Bishops, there seem to have been also some of the inferior Clergy recommended to the Episcopal Office, who did not sufficiently answer his Majesty's Expectation. Some of these, if I be not mistaken, were by ill Health render'd incapable of bearing so great a Weight. But in some few perhaps there was wanting a Greatness of Mind equal to so difficult an Employment; unless you had rather impute it to an Affectation of too much Modesty. It is in the Ecclesiastical Fabrick, as it is usually in all others, that the want of one Pin loosens the whole Frame: Nor was it thought an easy Matter to redress this Grievance; when the King being unacquainted with it, and remov'd at a great Distance, his good Subjects esteem'd it almost a peculiar Offence, to fix the least Pin into this Building at their own Discretion; for fear they should be charged
with

with any Infringement of the Royal Prerogative. But they might have done what had been far more acceptable to their most indulgent Prince, who in so difficult a State of Affairs was not very solicitous about those lesser Matters; if in a Work of that Importance more Expedition had been used by those whose Interest it was to dispatch it. The Purpose was to fill all the vacant Sees in both Provinces: But since none that was not ready to comply with any Thing the Governors of the Church should direct, would willingly accept the Bishoprick of the *Isle of Man* in the Province of *York* (for this had been a sort of Banishment, and being driven, as it were, from the Company of Men, or rather thrust into the Jaws of a cruel Tyrant ^b, who then governed the *Isle*) this was the Occasion of some Difficulty. To remove this Impediment and Pretence of Shuffling, the Earl of *Derby*

^b Daniel King in his *Treatise of the Isle of Man* (printed Anno 1656, Fol.) says (p. 16.) That this *Isle* by Authority of Parliament was devolved to Thomas Lord Fairfax. — He adds, that his Lordship hath the Jurisdiction of the *Isle*, as the said Earl (viz. of *Derby*) had, so hath he also the Title, namely Lord of *Man*, and of the *Isles*. The under Lieutenant or Governor was Major *Wade*, &c. The Act referr'd to is Anno 1649.

most affectionately besought Mr. *Barwick*, that he would condescend to accept of that poor Bishoprick; for it was in the Patronage of that noble Lord, and he was very solicitous to have it well fill'd. Mr. *Barwick* (though never to be deterr'd by any Danger from what became the Duty of a good Man, yet) had Reasons in his Opinion of some Weight, why he could not very willingly suffer himself to be made a Bishop; lest namely he should be thought by some, to have labour'd so indefatigably in the Business of the Ecclesiastick Succession, only to procure himself a higher Title. Yet that there should be no farther Stop made by those tardy Lingerers in promoting this Work, he promised to comply with his Lordship's Request, if it should appear necessary. But that all Pretence of Delay might be taken away from every one, the Chancellor in the King's Name writes a Letter something more pressing, dated from *Brussels*, Feb. 20, 1660, in which he censures the dilatory Proceeding of those, who acted with a little too much Coldness in this Affair: For it was his Majesty's Intent, that the Clergy should concert this Matter among themselves, as a Province peculiar

to them; and at their Discretion, as Occasion should offer, remove out of the Way whatever Obstructions there might be to a Work of that Importance. It is certain, his Majesty had not the least Suspicion of their incroaching upon his Prerogative; and it was his Opinion, that no room should be allowed to any farther Procrastination and Delay. The Chancellor's Letter (*Append. N^o. xxv.*) has this Passage in it.

“ Concerning the Business of the Church;
 “ I will confess truly to you, I am always
 “ ashamed of mentioning it to his Majesty,
 “ who is as much troubled and ashamed,
 “ that there should be no more care taken
 “ of it by those, whose Part it is, when he
 “ hath done all that he can. I cannot blame
 “ you, for not being desirous of accepting
 “ the Bishoprick of *Man*; which if you
 “ should do, no body will accuse you of
 “ Ambition. So that you will not thereby
 “ be less capable of pressing on the Work;
 “ but on the contrary will give a good Ex-
 “ ample to others, by shewing them, that
 “ for the Church's sake you expose your self
 “ to as much Danger, as they can do, and
 “ when you can receive nothing to recom-

“ pence it. The King bids me tell you,
 “ that as he doth intend you a much better
 “ Preferment, so if it be found necessary,
 “ that you submit to this for the present
 “ Service, you shall not continue in it, af-
 “ ter his Majesty shall be able to remove
 “ you from it. I hope what Mr. *Allestrey*
 “ will say from the King, when he shall be
 “ heard, will prevail with the Bishops to
 “ proceed to the Dispatch of the whole ;
 “ and if they shall find it counsellable first
 “ to provide for the Northern Province (if
 “ the Person designed by the King for *Che-*
 “ *ster* shall refuse) that they chuse as for
 “ *Carlisle* (which he leaves to them to do)
 “ so another fit Person for *Chester* ; and then
 “ since the Election for *Man* is in my Lord
 “ of *Derby*, and he hath conferred it upon
 “ you, and much Time may be spent in
 “ the Alteration ; I hope your Friends will
 “ persuade you to accept of it, for the fa-
 “ cilitating the rest.

I must own, that I have with some Free-
 dom censur'd the Slowness of a few of the
 Clergy in the Business of the Church : Yet I
 am willing to think, there is no Reason that a-
 ny one should blame me for this, as if I intended

to cast any Reflection upon their Order, for which no Man has more Veneration than I. Since those I complain of, that they interrupted the noble Endeavours of many others, were themselves but very few; and I readily own, and congratulate with the Church of *England*, that far the greatest part of her Clergy were so constant to their Duty, that neither the Loss of all they had, nor Imprisonment, nor Banishment, nor even Death itself was sufficient to deter them from it. And those very Men, whom I have now observed to have been something deficient therein, did more than once in Times of Distress obtain immortal Praise for their Christian Fortitude and Patience. But it was certainly very indecent, when their dearest and most afflicted Mother the Church was now in her Extremity, and implor'd their Assistance, that every one according to his several Ability, did not apply himself with greater Solitude to relieve her. Nor did I think it at all just, that when the Fault belong'd to very few, the Imputation of it should be charg'd upon the whole Number: For if there be no Difference to be made between the timo-

rous and the brave, between him that is slothful, and him that is diligent; then it is in vain that so many great Men have endur'd the severest Confinement for the publick Liberty, nay in vain that they have poured out their generous and noble Blood, as if useles and superfluous, for their most dear Country.

There was no doubt made but this Letter, together with his Majesty's Command given to Mr. *Allestrey* by Word of Mouth, would have effectually spurr'd on the most dilatory of the Clergy. to finish this Work out of Hand; if by I know not what ill Fate two new Obstructions had not interven'd: One was, that Mr. *Barwick's* Letter, as it was going to *Brussels*, the other, that Mr. *Allestrey* as he was returning Home from thence, both fell into the Enemies Hands. Mr. *Allestrey* betray'd (by whose Perfidiousness is unknown) was no sooner landed upon the *English* Shore, but he was immediately made a close Prisoner; and Mr. *Barwick's* Letter, with more sent by Mr. *William Rombald* and others, were intercepted by the Garison of *Dunkirk*, then at Enmity with the King [And what was yet worse, although

although every different Person's Letter was written in a distinct Cypher, and that contriv'd with great Thought, yet they were all decypher'd by the Art and Ingenuity of a certain very famous ^d *Mathematician*, who was hired by the Rebels. For it was the very same Artist that made these Discoveries, who (too officious to gratify the Rebels) had (as was intimated above) decypher'd his Majesty's Papers, written also in Characters, and taken at *Naseby* Fight. Yet he had now at last this in him of a good Subject, that at this Time he discover'd nothing to the Rebels, which much concern'd the publick Safety; though he satisfied some of the King's Friends, that he could have discover'd a great deal. But all those whom it concern'd being sufficiently assur'd, that no Key of any Cypher had fallen into the Enemy's Hands; it was thought nothing but vain boasting, when the Rebels brag'd, that by the Help of their Friends they were able to find out the most hidden Secrets of the Royalists;

^d Dr. Wallis. See above p. 61.

till Mr. *Matthew Wrenn* (Son to the Right Reverend Bishop of *Ely*) who was intimately acquainted with this *Mathematician*, obtained of him some Copies of those Letters, as he had decypher'd them, and took Care to have them deliver'd severally to the Persons that wrote the Letters, who all acknowledg'd them for their own, and left no room to doubt of the Decypherer's Art.]

These two unhappy Mischances greatly affected the Minds of many, every where spreading Suspicions of Deceit and Treachery: For it was not only impracticable to consult Mr. *Allestrey* concerning the King's Pleasure, now that he was under close Confinement; but all Correspondence by Letters between *London* and *Brussels* was render'd suspected, dubious, and uncertain. The safest Way of sending at that Time was through the Hands of a certain most religious Matron, who was Ab-

* That Bishop's eldest Son, originally a Student in *Cambridge* (probably of *Pembroke Hall* or *Peterhouse*, both his Father's own Colleges) afterwards during the Usurpation he studied several Years at *Oxford*, in a private House. On the Restoration he was made Secretary to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and upon the fall of that great Man, Secretary to the Duke of *York*; in which Employment he died *June 14, 1672. Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 819, 820.*

besides of an *English* Nunnery at *Ghent*, and with great Fidelity took Care of the safe Delivery of all Letters sent from hence thither.

Under these Difficulties for some Time continued the Business of the Church; but that of the State by God's great Goodness began now at length to bear down all Opposition: For though General *Monk* did not yet seem openly to declare for the King; yet (what many hop'd would be soon the same thing) he openly declared against the Government of those that had hitherto bore Rule. O with what Acclamations of Joy did the City of *London* then triumph! How hardly did she contain her self thro' Excess of Gladness, seeing all Things at length in Safety, or assuredly hoping they would be; when now immediately after the City Gates and Portcullices broke down, the Citizens thrown into Prison, and Tyranny ravaging with Cruelty and Haughtiness through all her Streets, by an unexpected Message of glad Tidings, she was order'd again to be FREE! O that joyful and festival Night (for we who saw it, and bore a part in that Exultation, great as the Cala-

^f Probably the same mentioned in the Chancellor's Letter of March 8, 1650. *Append.* N^o. xxvi. mity

mity we had been lately Partakers of, cannot but remember it with Pleasure) when the Soldiers and Citizens congratulated each other, that the Yoak they had groaned under, alas! too long, was now at length happily shaken off! When the most agreeable Name of *Liberty*, now for many Years obsolete, was every where ecchoed through the Streets! When lastly, the Obsequies of the late Tyranny were celebrated with Bonfires illuminating all the City, as with a long-wish'd-for Funeral-Pile! Nor were those few Members of the lower House of Parliament yet asham'd to assume this Liberty in great Measure to themselves alone. For neither had the Lords resum'd their Seats in the upper House; and besides, all those Gentlemen of the House of Commons, who from the beginning had persisted in their Duty to their King and Country, and for that Reason had been driven from their Seats by seditious Tumults, still lay under an Incapacity, not yet taken off: Not that General *Monk*, the generous Assertor of his oppressed Country's Liberty, can be thought to have envied any one his Freedom; but that it was not possible for him at one and the same Time to set the
whole

whole Nation at Liberty ; with so impatient a Thirst of governing were some *Plebeian* Minds possessed, partly in the Senate, and partly also yet in the Army. But he made it his Business to purge out the Leaven from among the latter. Likewise he sent Colonel *Clobery* and Colonel ^f *Lidcot*, two of his most trusty Officers, to the House, guarded by Colonel *Redman* with a stout Body of Horse, earnestly desiring them to put an end to that Parliament, and call a new one out of Hand. To many of the Members this Message was not very acceptable : But when the General had given Order to clear the Doors of the Parliament House from all those Guards, who kept far the greatest part of the Members out of their Seats (namely of those who were permitted to vote in Parliament, till the military Law for bringing the King to his Trial was passed) The House being now fuller, came without Difficulty to this Resolution, that that Parliament should be dissolv'd on the 16th Day of that instant *March*, and a new one meet on the 25th of *April* following.

^f Colonel *Leonard Lidcot*.

But in the mean Time they were not ashamed to make a Law for their Fellow-Subjects, by which it was provided, that no Man should be chosen for the Parliament then soon to meet, who had bore Arms for the King against that present Parliament; throwing off all the Odium of the War from themselves upon the Royal Martyr, and his most faithful Subjects: For what the Presbyterians seem'd to aim at, who were now superior in Number to those they called Independents, was that all Matters for the future should be settled with exact Conformity to the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*; by which the best of Kings was obliged to purchase the good Will of his Enemies, and the Peace of his Subjects at no less a Price, than the Spoils of the Church and Kingdom.

It was well indeed, that the greatest part of the Parliament was willing the Monarchy should be restor'd; but most of them upon hard Terms; every Party among them endeavouring to draw over the General, and all the Army to their Opinion, and spreading the Poison of Rebellion in part publickly in the Parliament House, and partly after their usual manner in private Clubs. Nor

was it yet safe for the General openly to oppose their Attempts : But what amounted to the same Thing, he declar'd that it seem'd to him most reasonable, that the manner of restoring the Privileges of his Country should be left to the next Parliament. Yet the present House had in it some Members of great Worth, such as Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *Richard Brown*, and others, who to the utmost of their Power oppos'd the wicked Attempts of the rest; now heartily repenting of their dreadful Violation of the Laws both Civil and Ecclesiastical, and of the unheard of Injuries they had formerly done the best Prince and most holy Martyr, and earnestly exhorting the General to make a full Restitution of their Rights to all. But there was one Thing which occasioned some to hope, but very many to fear, that this great Man was not altogether averse to their Sentiments, who desir'd the King should be restor'd by Articles conformable to the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*; and that was, that before he enter'd upon this late Expedition into *England*, he and the *Scotch* Nobility (to whom it was thought those Articles would not be unacceptable) had had a private Consultation, the Subject

whereof was hitherto concealed with as much Care, as the rest of his Designs. On this Occasion Mr. *Barwick* received the following Orders dated from *Brussels, March 8, 1660. Append. N^o. xxvi.*

—“ As *Monk*'s proceeding hath been very
 “ mysterious throughout: So nothing is
 “ more wonderful, than the Secrecy of all
 “ that hath been transacted in *Scotland*; of
 “ all which Intrigue the King knows no
 “ more, than he does of his present Inten-
 “ tions; nor hath any Express been dis-
 “ patch'd from *Scotland* to the King, to give
 “ him any Account of what they demand-
 “ ed, or the other promised: therefore the
 “ King desires, you would use the best
 “ Means you can to inform your self of all
 “ the Particulars. His Majesty is abun-
 “ dantly pleas'd with the Account you give
 “ him of your Friend, upon whose Affec-
 “ tion he depends, as likewise upon his
 “ Discretion to proceed in that Method and
 “ Pace he finds most convenient, who can
 “ best judge of his Nature, and how he is
 “ to be approach'd; and when it is season-
 “ able, he will shew him the King's Letter
 “ to him, and may assure him, that he can-
 “ not

“ not be disappointed in any Expectation
 “ he shall entertain of the King’s Kind-
 “ nefs.—

For so it seem’d proper to his Majesty, by comparing together the General’s several Proceedings, to make some Conjecture, what his Designs were at that Time. But it was a Matter of too much Difficulty, from the *Scotch* Affairs to make an Estimate of the *English*, or to borrow Light from what had been done, to discover more clearly what was then doing. For (except some ^h Money to be given by the *Scots* for the Use of the Army) this close reserved Man seems to have distinctly agreed nothing more with them, than only that they should take care to secure the Peace at Home, whilst he endeavour’d to keep off from Abroad a new Tyranny ready to invade their Borders. But there was no need of dwelling on this Inquiry with too much Solitude; seeing that all Things now hasten’d to a happy Issue. And though by a most

^h See *Clarend. Hist.* Vol. 3. B. 16. p. 703. *Dugd. Short View* Ch. 42. p. 481. *Skinner’s Life of General Monk*, p. 182, &c.

wicked Law (as was said above) the Liberty of voting in the Election of Members for next Parliament was not a little violated; yet that Law did the Faction no great good: For what could be more unjust, than that the least part of the People should make so hard a Law for the far greatest and noblest part of them? That all who had endeavoured to live according to the received Laws (which was every good Subject's Duty) should for that very Reason forfeit the Right of Subjects, and be condemn'd (as it were) to be perpetual Slaves? Nay the General himself being privately ask'd by the Royalists, if it did not appear most reasonable to him, that a free People should make use of their ancient Right in giving Votes, made no doubt to answer freely (as much as he had been upon the Reserve till then) that no Injury, as he knew of, would be done to any one, if the People made use of their Right. Yet none of those who had formerly fought for the Rights of the Crown against the Mock-Parliament, would now offer himself as a Candidate to the Votes of his Countrymen, without first consulting General *Monk*, much less against his Will; yet for any one to have reveal'd the Gene-

ral's Opinion in this Matter, as free as he was to give it when privately ask'd, would by all the King's Friends have been accounted a very unworthy Action: For this had been to expose a Person (who beyond the Examples of all Ages had deserv'd well of the Publick) if not to be oppress'd by the Rage and Malice of the Rebels (from which he seem'd to be secure, now that at last he had modell'd the Army of the three Kingdoms to his Mind) yet at least to be made the Object of their Curses and Execrations: Hence it was, that the Rebels did not despair wholly of promoting, in some Measure at least, their Interest in next Parliament; since very many honest loyal Gentlemen refused to be chosen Members, though voluntarily offer'd: Not that they were under any Awe of the qualifying Vote abovementioned, for which no one had the least Regard; but for fear General *Monk* should incur any Suspicion on their Account. Yet the horrid Murther of the Royal Martyr, and the no less impious Proscription of the King his Son, had render'd all the Attempts of the Faction so hateful to every one, that few could procure themselves to be chosen into this Parliament, who seem'd in the

least to favour their Schemes. But General *Monk*, though he had marshall'd the whole Army of the Common-wealth under Officers of approv'd Fidelity (among whom he had given the Government of *Chester* Castle to Colonel *Venables* abovementioned, who had been now long engaged in the King's Service with Mr. *Barwick*) did not however think Matters in perfect Safety, till he had obliged all the Common Soldiers also of the Veteran Regiments, on whom both Peace and War most depended, to come to this mutual Agreement, that they would willingly comply with the Resolution of the next Parliament. From this very few dissented; in all the General's own Regiment no more than two.

When this was done, his Excellence thinking himself now more secure, at last admitted to a private Conference with him Sir *John Greenville*, by whom his Brother Mr. *Nicholas Monk* had been formerly sent to him into *Scotland* with Instructions from the King. In that Conference the General declared to Sir *John* his Readiness to serve his Majesty, which it was very necessary to conceal till then, by Reason of many and great Difficulties, wherewith he was to
struggle;

struggle: But now that through the merciful Providence of God he seem'd to have in great Measure overcome them all, he should for the future appear more openly in his Service. But he most humbly besought his Majesty, that he would retire as soon as possible from *Brussels* to *Breda*; where in the Court of his Royal Sister the Princess of *Orange*, he could both more conveniently attend upon his Affairs, which now hasten'd to Maturity, and be more secure from the wicked Contrivances of his Enemies. Sir *John Greenville* very much rejoicing (as was but reasonable) at this News, made all possible Haste to *Brussels*; but carried to his Majesty only by Word of Mouth what the General had given him in Command: For he, who was the most cautious Man living, and rather chose to be in reality dutiful and serviceable to the King, than to appear so, did not think it was yet safe to commit any Thing to writing. Upon Sir *John Greenville's* first Arrival, his Majesty, according to the General's Advice, immediately goes to *Breda*, but as it were with an intent of returning again: For hitherto the *Spanish* Court which was at *Brussels*, did not believe that General *Monk* had the least Inclination

to serve the King; but thought his only Aim was, to serve his own Ambition, after the Example of those, who had got the Government into their Hands before. And the only Reason of this Journey, his Majesty gave out, even to those of his Household, was, that he went to make his dearest Sister a Visit; being now long since sufficiently secure of the General's experienc'd Fidelity, and most profound Wisdom in conducting Affairs of Difficulty and Importance.

Mr. *Barwick* in a late Letter to the Chancellor had informed him from Colonel *Clobery's* Account, with what Clamour, Rage, and Indignation the General's Messengers were received by the hottest among the Members, when they carried that dreadful Message of at length dissolving their Mock-Parliament. To this Letter the Chancellor then at *Breda*, in one dated *April 16, 1660*, among other Things answers thus:

“ The King came hither but on *Wednesday*,
 “ *day*, and I but the last Night; so that
 “ having but two or three Hours to make
 “ use of a safe Messenger, I can hardly find
 “ the Letters I am to answer. The Pro-
 “ spect of your Affairs looks very well to-
 “ wards

“ wards us ; and I am persuaded, that *Monk*
 “ will in the end appear to have proceeded
 “ like a sober Man ; and assure your self,
 “ your Friend ^k cannot be without a very
 “ good Acknowledgment, for contributing
 “ much towards that Temper ; and what-
 “ ever Jealousies there be among themselves,
 “ between the Civil and Martial Counsel-
 “ lers, I do not find there is any of the last
 “ *Classis*, by whom *Monk* is like to be advi-
 “ sed, or who are like to do him so much
 “ Service in the Army, as your two ^l Friends
 “ are: And therefore I pray continue your
 “ Interposition with them, with all the
 “ Encouragement that can be desired from
 “ the King, of which they may be most
 “ confident. And here I must not omit to
 “ tell you, that some Persons of unquesti-
 “ onable Affections, and of great Quality,
 “ have sent lately to the King, to make
 “ Propositions to him of engaging Colonel
 “ *Clobery*, as a Person most able to do him
 “ Service with the General ; they not ima-

^k Mr. Otway or Colonel *Clobery*.

^l Colonel *Clobery* and Colonel *Redman*.

“ gining;

“ gining, that we have any Knowledge or
“ Communication with him; nor do we
“ pretend it; but seem to decline to write
“ such Letters, as they desire, out of an
“ Apprehension, that he is of the Republi-
“ can Party, and not to be wrought upon.
“ This we think very necessary you should
“ know, and it may be he himself; lest it
“ should be intimated to him, that there
“ is an ill Opinion of him here; which
“ sometimes falls out, by the Weakness of
“ our Friends, when to avoid some unsea-
“ sonable Overtures, or a more unseason-
“ able Discovery, we seem to have Preju-
“ dice towards those, in whom we have
“ most confided. *Append. N^o. xxix.*

For these were those illustrious Persons with whom Mr. *Barwick* maintained an intimate Friendship, and constantly communicated his most secret Purposes; who as they were most considerable for their Fidelity, Courage, and Experience, obtained no mean Place and Reputation among those, that had a Share in this glorious Undertaking; by whose Counsel and Assistance General *Monk*, renown'd throughout the
World,

World, gain'd such a Victory over the King's Enemies, and that even without the Effusion of Blood, as no Age ever saw one either more difficult or more glorious. But as Mr. *Barwick* was always used to catch at every Opportunity of raising the Monarchy from its Ruins: So he had somewhat more Hopes of the Means that were then using, than of any other, after he had often heard the Right Reverend Bishop of *Ely* promise himself all he could wish from the General's Fidelity, and give this Reason for it, *viz.* That that great Man having been formerly taken Prisoner, when fighting with signal Bravery for the King, after a long severe Confinement in the Tower with his Lordship, and no Hopes left of recovering his Liberty (the Royal Cause daily growing more desperate) when *Cromwell*, knowing his Courage and Experience in military Affairs, had long courted him to come over to his Side, and at last offered him a Command in the *Irish* Service, was, to obtain his Liberty, persuaded to accept the Offer, but with this Protestation, that he would bear Arms against the *Irish* Rebels, but by no Means against his King: And when all Matters were agreed, and he was going to
 take

take leave of his Friends, he came to this Bishop, and throwing himself at his Feet, begg'd the venerable Prelate's Benediction^m, binding himself at the same Time with this solemn Engagement, that he would never be an Enemy to his King. And it is most certain, that this illustrious Warrior never fought either in *Ireland* or in *Scotland* for his Deliverers in *England*; but employed all his Force against those, who had formerly created his Majesty all this Trouble and Disturbance.

After I had writ this, his Grace *Christopher* Duke of *Albemarle* did me the Honour to shew me a ⁿ Letter, written by the King all in his own Hand, at least four Years before the Restoration, to his Grace's Father then commanding in *Scotland*, wherein his Majesty earnestly advis'd him, to take particular Care not to suffer himself by any Artifice of *Cromwell's* to be drawn out of *Scotland*; adding, that as to the rest his Majesty was not in the least doubtful of his Fidelity and Obedience, when Opportunity should offer. This Letter he preserv-

^m See *Skimmer's Life of General Monk*, p. 29, 30.

ⁿ See a Copy of the Letter, *Append.* N^o. iii.

ed among his most valuable Treasures, yet seems to have writ no Answer to it; thinking it much better, and in that dangerous Conjunction by all Means safer, to answer by some heroick Undertaking, than by bare empty Words. Yet from this profound and perpetual ° Silence those Doubts I have mentioned above without all peradventure had their Rise.

And now all those secret Endeavours, whereby others had hitherto with indefatigable Pains attempted to restore the King to the Throne, and the Bishops to the Church, were perfectly at an end, as altogether supervacaneous, after it was once

° Though the General, who was so cautious, that he would write no Answer to that Letter the King sent him by Sir *John Greenville* near four Years after this, when Matters were much riper for a Restoration (*supra p. 194.*) must have thought it too hazardous to answer this; yet it is some Indication of his good Purposes so early, that he preserved it; and it could not but administer some Hopes to his Majesty to observe, that though the General did not answer his Letter, yet he was so far from discovering it to the Usurper, which would have been no little Merit, that he seemed rather to pursue that Advice and Direction his Majesty had given him therein. Nay his Excellence's own Chaplain assures us, that he was so careful of one Particular advised in this Letter *viz. (to keep himself out of the Enemy's Hands)* that he was resolv'd to commission the whole *Scotch* Nation against Parliament and Army and all, before he would be taken tamely by them. *Dr. Price's Mystery and Method of the Restoration*, p. 8. See *Skinner's Life of General Monk*, p. 140.

known,

known, that General *Monk* was prosecuting the same glorious Design: And as his Majesty *Charles* the Second after the meeting of the new Parliament, was publickly proclaimed King in all the Counties and Boroughs of his Dominions: So there were not like to be long wanting to the Church Bishops chosen after the received Custom by their respective Chapters; for the intended Choice by a Synod of Bishops had been hitherto without Success, on account of the Impediments abovementioned. But after the Rights of the King and Church, as well as those of the Nobility and People were secur'd, Mr. *Barwick* was sent by the Bishops to his Majesty at *Breda*, with the following Instructions.

I. **H**E was order'd in the first Place to wait upon the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor of *England*, and to beg his Lordship's Assistance to present a most humble Petition to his Majesty in the Name of the Bishops, and then to deliver their Lordships Letters to the Chancellor, to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to the Secretary of State, wherein they return'd those great Men their most thankful Acknowledgments

knowledgments for their Piety and Affection to the Church in her late most afflicted State.

II. Then he was instructed to give his Majesty a distinct Account of the present State of the Church in all the Particulars wherein his Majesty desir'd to be inform'd; and to bring the Bishops back his Majesty's Commands, with Regard to all that should be thought proper for them or any of them to do.

III. He was likewise humbly to ask, what was his Majesty's Pleasure with Regard to some of the Bishops waiting on the Sea-Coast to pay their Duty to his Majesty, when by God's Blessing he should soon land in *England*; and whether it was his Royal Pleasure, that they should attend him there in their Episcopal Habit, and at what Time and Place, and how many, and which of them his Majesty pleased should wait his Arrival.

IV. He was also to enquire concerning the Number of his Majesty's Chaplains, whether any of them, besides those in waiting, should attend his Majesty's Arrival upon the Coast, and to beg that his Majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

V. He was further commanded most humbly to beseech his Majesty, that if Dr. ^p *Lushington*, formerly the King's Chaplain, should offer to officiate in that Capacity again, his Majesty would be pleas'd not to indulge him that Favour, till Inquiry should be made concerning his suspected Faith and Principles.

VI. Since it has been customary for our Kings, after any extraordinary Mercies receiv'd from God, to celebrate a publick Thanksgiving in St. *Paul's* Cathedral, Mr. *Barwick* was also enjoin'd humbly to beseech his Majesty to signify, what was his Royal Pleasure on this Behalf, in the ruin'd Estate of that Church.

VII. His last Instruction was, to give a just and due Account to his Majesty (who was well acquainted with all that Affair of the Church mentioned above) why it had met with no better Success.

Mr. *Barwick* was most graciously received by the King his Royal Master, nor with

^p Dr. *Thomas Lushington*, Prebendary of *Salisbury*, and Rector of *Burnham Westgate* in *Norfolk*. See a farther Account of him, and his Principles suspected of *Socinianism*. *Wood Ather. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 171, &c.*

mindful (as was but just) of those, whom he had brought over to the King's Interest, and who depended upon him in promoting it. The Sum of those Petitions, as I find them in Mr. *Barwick's* Original, I shall here set down Word for Word.

I. He petition'd that according to the Chancellor's Letter which he lately received from him, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, as soon as it should be thought seasonable, might receive some Acknowledgment from his Majesty of the Service he had done towards the Restoration; and in the mean Time that his eldest Son, if his Majesty thought fit, might be dignified with the Honour of Knighthood, having deserv'd very well of his Majesty, and being a Gentleman of great Esteem in his Country, possess'd of a very considerable Estate, and elected a Member of the new Parliament.

II. Since his Majesty in a Letter † formerly written to Mr. *Barwick* gave him leave to encourage Colonel *Clobery* to hope,

† Supra p. 190.

he should receive some Dignity from his Royal Bounty ; which Letter he had for very weighty Reasons communicated to the Colonel : He now humbly petition'd, that his Majesty would be pleas'd to make good this Promise to that^r Gentleman ; because
from

^r When Colonel *Clobery* was first mentioned above, p. 161. because I had not then received all the Information I expected concerning him, and what relates to the Reward of his great Service seem'd more proper to be mentioned here, where the King is petitioned to make good what Mr. *Barwick* had by his Majesty's Direction encouraged the Colonel to hope, I chose to say so little of him there, and refer the Reader hither for a farther Account, which I have since received, and here follows.

Colonel *Clobery* was the younger Son of an ancient Family in *Devonshire*, which had continued at *Bradston* their Seat above five hundred Years. They have had a plentiful Estate in that County and in *Cornwall*, and have frequently intermarried with the best Families in both Counties. He was born at *Bradston* in the Year 1623, or 1624; his Father a Royalist, gave him an ingenuous Education, and he was sent to the *Temple* to study the Law. His natural and acquired Abilities were such, it is probable he would have been very considerable in that Profession, had he not quitted it, after the Murther of King *Charles*, to serve under his Countryman and Kinsman General *Monk*, who advanced him from one Commission to another, till he gave him the Command of a Regiment. At the Restoration, being presented by the General to the King, he was Knighted, and had a Pension of six hundred Pounds *per Annum* granted to him, his Heirs, and Assigns for ever, in Consideration of his Services at that Time; but to cease and determine upon his Majesty's granting him Lands of like Value. The Pension was afterwards surrendred upon conveying to him certain Fee-Farm Rents, according to the Terms of the Grant of the Pension. After disbanding the Army, he had no Command till 1667, when upon the *Dutch* Fleet coming up to *Chatham*,

from that Time he had faithfully served the Royal Cause, and besides had so much Interest in the Army, that his Service was like to be of no small Importance.

III. The

a Commission was sent him without his seeking or privity, with Orders immediately to raise a Troop of Horse, and to march with them to *Rye*. He received his Commission with the Orders on a *Sunday* Night at *Winchester*. where he then lived, and where he was so much esteemed and beloved, that the *Wednesday* Morning following he marched at the Head of more than an hundred Horse: When that Danger was over, and the Troops raised on that Occasion disbanded, he returned to *Winchester*, for which City he served in Parliament, with *James* Lord *Annesley*, the three last Parliaments [of King *Charles* the Second. In *Monmouth's* Rebellion, at the Request of the Lords Lieutenants of *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire*, who were commanded to raise the Militia of those Counties, and to march with them against the Rebels (the Militia being mutinous and unwilling to march) he was prevailed on to lead them to the King's Camp, which with great Difficulty he performed: But upon their continuing mutinous and disorderly, he was forced to dismiss them, and served himself as a Volunteer; and to his Conduct in great Measure was owing the Defeat of the Rebels: For he marked out the Ground for the Camp at *Sedgemoore*, and did the Duty at first of the Officers of Horse, that were surprized and not ready, when the Rebels attacked them in the Night. This the Earl of *Feversham*, who commanded the Forces, and the Officers under him did Sir *John* the Justice to acknowledge, and represented his Services with such Advantage to the King, that he was graciously pleased to send for him to thank him for them, and to desire he would take the Commission of Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of Horse, then to be raised by the Lord *Lumley*, which he accepted: But the latter end of the Year following he surrendered it, being disabled by a dangerous Fever, succeeded by a Dropsy, of which he died at *Winchester* in 1687, in the 63^d or 64th Year of his Age, and was interr'd in that Cathedral. I have mentioned the Monument erected there to his Memory, and where the

Inscription

III. The third Article of his Petition was, that Colonel *Robert Venables* might be honoured with some eminent Mark of the Royal Favour; since it was sufficiently known, that he formerly both could have restor'd his Majesty to his Throne, and would have done it, if he had not been hinder'd by the Perfidiousness of some, to whom the King's Business was trusted.

Inscription is already published; which being in *Latin*, and in Point of History containing only a small part of the Account of him now given, I did not think it worth while to publish it again here.

He was twice married, first to the Widow of _____ *Erlisman*, Esq; by whom he had no Issue: His second Wife was *Anne*, Daughter of *George Cranmer* of *Canterbury*, a Descendant from Archbishop *Cranmer*. He had by her one Son and two Daughters, who died in their Infancy, and four Daughters that lived to be married, (the two eldest by him in his Life-time) *Anne* to Sir *Charles Holte* of *Aston* in the County of *Warwick*, Bart. by whom she had a numerous Issue: Her eldest Son is now Sir *Clobery Holte*. *Catherine* married to *William Bromley* of *Baginton* in the same County, Esq; (in the Reign of her late Majesty Speaker of the House of Commons, and Principal Secretary of State) who had Issue by her only one Son, *Clobery Bromley*, Esq; who died without Issue, Member of Parliament for the City of *Coventry*. *Susanna* married to Sir *Thomas Trollope* of *Caswicke* in the County of *Lincoln*, Bart. by whom there are several Sons and Daughters living. And *Mary*, married to Sir *John Noel* of *Kirkby* in the County of *Leicester*, Bart. deceased, a Branch of the Earl of *Ganesborough's* Family: He left by her two Sons and one Daughter, his eldest Son is now Sir *Clobery Noel*, and his Brother Member of Parliament for *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*. I had the Honour of this Information from Mr. *Bromley* abovementioned, and beg leave upon this Occasion to acknowledge the many and great Obligations I have had to him and his excellent Lady.

IV. The fourth was, that such as had transmitted Money through his or Dr. *Hewit's* Hands for the King's Subsistence, should be admitted to kiss his Majesty's Hand, as an honourable Acknowledgment of that Service.

V. The fifth, that Dr. *Hewit's* Widow, an excellent Person, might be taken under his Majesty's Care and Protection, and that her fatherless Son might have some Place given him, on the Profits whereof he might be able to subsist.

And now at last there was Liberty for all such, as had been long banished from the Universities, to return thither, and repossess themselves of their ancient Rights, each in his own College; all Obstruction being now removed, but what themselves had occasion'd since their Expulsion. But Mr. *Barwick* willingly gave up his Right in favour of a hopeful^t young Man, though
an

^t *Jonathan Tuckney* Son of Dr. *Tuckney*, then Master of the College, who had been admitted into Mr. *Barwick's* Fellowship (*viz.* Mr. *Simpson's*) March 17, 1657, but not having immediately succeeded Mr. *Barwick* (for *John Starkey* came between them, and was the first Intruder) that might incline Mr. *Barwick*

an unjust Possessor, who at that Time was an Intruder upon his Fellowship, and had been educated in Schismatick Principles from his Childhood; whom yet by this Act of good Nature and Generosity he endeavoured to secure to the Church and Crown: Yet he was not willing to leave *Cambridge* wholly, till he had taken his Doctor of Divinity's Degree, that he might return more fit to the publick Exercise of his Ministry, and to his Estate now again at Liberty. The Degree of Bachelor in the same Faculty, after the University of *Cambridge* was destroyed, he had formerly taken at "*Oxford*"; in which Refuge of the Learned under the Royal Garison, he laid the Foundation of an intimate Friendship with the most eminent Persons of that University, Dr. ^w *Sheldon*,
 Dr.

wick to be more favourable to him; yet *Tuckney* went off soon after on the *Bartholomew* Act, succeeded *April 7, 1663*, by *William Birbeck*. *Coll. Regr.* See *Calamy's* Abridgment of the Life of *Baxter*.

^u *Feb. 21, 1645*, being then Master of Arts of nineteen Years standing, and Chaplain to the Bishop of *Durham*. *Wood Fast. Ox. Vol. 2. fol. 732.*

^w *Gilbert*, youngest Son of *Roger Sheldon* of *Stanton* in *Staffordshire*, born there *July 19, 1598*, had his Name from his Godfather, *Gilbert* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to whom his Father was a menial Servant, became Commoner of *Trinity College* in *Oxford*, *Anno 1613*, A. M., *Anno 1620*, elected Fellow of *All-*

don, Dr. ^s Hammond, Dr. ^y Dolben, Dr.
^z Fell,

Souls 1622, about which Time he entred into holy Orders, and becoming afterwards Domestick Chaplain to the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, he recommended him to King *Charles* the First. In 1634 he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, being then Prebendary of *Gloucester*, and was next Year chosen Warden of his College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and afterwards Clerk of his Closet, and was designed to be also Master of the *Savoy*, and Dean of *Westminster*, only that the Rebellion prevented it, under which he was both ejected from his Wardenship, and also imprisoned in *Oxford* and elsewhere, together with Dr. *Hammond*, by the Parliament Visitors, 1648; when released he retired to his Friends in *Staffordshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and *Derbyshire*, and found Means to send the King constant Supplies of Money. On the Death of Dr. *John Palmer* his Intruder in *All-Souls*, March 4, 1659, and the near Prospect of a Restoration, he was restored to that Wardenship, but instead of taking Possession of it again, was soon made Dean of the Chapel Royal, and Bishop of *London* October 28, 1660, in the room of Bishop *Fuxon*, then translated to *Canterbury*, on whose Death he also was translated to that See, August 31, 1663, having been for some time before one of his Majesty's Privy-Council. In 1667 he was made Chancellor of *Oxford*; and dying November 9, 1677, was privately interred in *Croydon* Church, near Archbishop *Whitgift's* Tomb, by his own Direction, and had a stately Monument erected over him by his elder Brother's Son, Sir *Joseph Sheldon* then lately Lord Mayor of *London*. He built the Theatre at *Oxford* at the Expence of above sixteen thousand Pounds, and gave two thousand Pounds for Land of a hundred Pounds *per Annum* to keep it in Repair. He built the Library at *Lambeth*; gave two thousand Pounds to *St. Paul's*; great Benefactions to the two *Trinity* Colleges in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; fifteen hundred Pounds in charitable Legacies. These besides large Sums given yearly in publick and private Charities, from his being made Bishop of *London* to the Time of his Death, appeared on his Accounts to amount to about sixty six thousand Pounds. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 678, 679.*

^x See above, p. 239, 240.

^y *John*, Son of *William Dolben*, D.D. Rector of *Stanwick* in *Northamptonshire*,

^z *Fell*, Dr. ^a *Allestrey*, Dr. ^b *Willis*, and others,

Northamptonshire, born there *May 20, 1624*, chosen Student of *Christ Church* from *Westminster School*, *Anno 1640*. He bore Arms for the King in *Oxford* some Time; was an Ensign at the Battel of *Marston-Moor*, and afterwards a Major in one of the Royal Armies. After the War he took holy Orders in *1646*, and returning to *Christ Church*, proceeded A. M. in *1647*, and was ejected by the Visitors next Year: Soon after marrying Dr. *Sheldon's* Niece, he lived in *St. Aldate's* Parish in *Oxford* during the Usurpation, and assisted Mr. *John Fell* (afterwards Bishop of *Oxford*) in his Church of *England* Congregation there. On the Restoration he was install'd Canon of *Christ Church*, *July 27, 1660*, and soon proceeded Doctor of Divinity, and on the Recommendation of his Wife's Uncle, then Bishop of *London*, was made Archdeacon of *London*, Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty, and Dean of *Westminster*, *December 5, 1662*, in the Room of Dr. *Earle* promoted to the See of *Worcester*. On the Death of Bishop *Warner* he was made Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *November 25, 1666*, and held the Deanery of *Westminster* in Commendam. In *1675* he was made the King's Almoner, and on the Decease of Dr. *Sterne* was advanced to the See of *York*, *July 28, 1683*. He died of the Small-Pox, *April 11, 1686*, and was interr'd in his own Cathedral. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 600, 601.*

^z *John*, Son of Dr. *Samuel Fell*, sometime Dean of *Christ Church*, born at *Summinghill* in *Berkshire*, *Anno 1625*, bred at the Free-School of *Thame* in *Oxfordshire*, and made Student of *Christ Church*, *Anno 1636*; proceeding A. M. *1643*, was then in Arms for his Majesty in *Oxford* Garison, and afterwards an Ensign. In *1648* being ejected, and then in Orders, he and others kept a private Church of *England* Congregation in *Oxford*. On the Restoration he was made Canon of *Christ Church*, *July 27, 1660*, and Dean *November* the 30th following, being then one of the King's Chaplains, and D. D. *January 8, 1665*, he was chosen Bishop of *Oxford*, and held his Deanery in Commendam. He died *July 10, 1686*, and was interr'd in his own Cathedral. See a farther Account of him, and of his unwearied Endeavours for maintaining the Discipline and good Order, and promoting the Interest of his own College, and of the University, as also of his publick Benefactions to both, and of his learned Works. *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 602, &c.*

^a See above, p. 201, 202.

^b *Thomas*

thers, all as well as he, both Enemies to the Usurpation, and Promoters of the King's Interest.

[The first of all that were regularly advanced to the Degree of Doctor at *Cambridge*, after the Senate of the University had been long since dissolved by the Rebellion, were these Persons ^c following, all most dear Friends to one another, Mr. *Peter* ^d *Gunning*, Mr. *Isaac* ^e *Barrow*, Mr.

^b *Thomas*, Son of *Thomas Willis*, Steward to Sir *Walter Smith* of *Great Bedwyn* in *Wiltshire*, born there *June 27, 1621*. Anno 1636, he became Butler to Dr. *Iles* Canon of *Christ Church*, and having taken both Degrees in Arts Anno 1642, as soon as *Oxford* was garison'd, he bore Arms there for the King, and when it was surrendred, Anno 1646 proceeded M. B. and practised Physick there, Mr. *Fell*, whose Sister he had married, keeping a Church of *England* Congregation in his House. Anno 1660 he was made *Sedlie's* Professor of Natural Philosophy, and soon after created Doctor of his Faculty, and on the Foundation of the Royal Society, was made one of its Fellows. Being invited up to *London* by Archbishop *Sheldon*, Anno 1666, he settled in *St. Martin's-Lane, Westminster*, and soon became very eminent; and was chosen one of the College of Physicians. He died *November 11, 1675*. and was interr'd in *Westminster-Abby*. See a farther Account of him and his learned Works. *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 402, &c.*

^c In the King's Mandat for this Purpose, which was the first Mandat sent down to *Cambridge* by King *Charles* the Second, dated *June 21, 1660*, and directed to Dr. *Love*, Master of *Corpus-Christi* College, then Vice-Chancellor, they are named in the Order following, *Bernard Hales*, *Peter Gunning*, *Isaac Barrow*, *John Barwick*, *John Aucher*, *William Chamberlain*, as appears from the Original Under Seal in the University Archives.

^d See above, p. 39.

^e See above, p. 36.

Bernard

Bernard ^f *Hales*, Mr. *John* ^s *Aucher*, Mr. *William* ^h *Chamberlain*, and Mr. *John Barwick*. Every one of these, immediately before they took their Degree, either per-

^f Prebendary and Archdeacon of *Ely*, and on the Promotion of Dr. *Cofin* to the See of *Durham*, chosen by the Bishop of *Ely* Nov. 5, 1660, to succeed him in the Mastership of St. Peter's College in *Cambridge* (*Regr. Elien.*) to which he was a great Benefactor; for besides a hundred Pound to their Library, and other Gifts, he left them by his Will in Lands to the Value of seven thousand Pounds, to augment the Master's Revenue, maintain the Organist, and provide for seven Scholars. He also gave to his Successors, the Masters of the College for the Time being, the perpetual Advouzon of two Rectories, *Glaston* in the County of *Rutland*, and *Knapton* in *Norfolk* (*Commemor. Benefactor. Coll. S. Petri Cantab*) He died *March* 25, and was interr'd in that College Chapel on *March* 30, 1663. *Regr. of Little St. Mary's.*

^s Fellow of St. Peter's College in *Cambridge*, I suppose the same that Dr. *Walker* by Mistake calls *Archer* (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, P. 2. p. 153.) for that he was ejected, he himself tells us in the Title Page of his Treatise, intituled, *The Arraignment of Rebellion*, printed at *London* 1684, in 4^{to}, said to be written by *John Aucher*, M. A. an ejected Fellow of St. Peter's College in *Cambridge*, afterwards Doctor of *Divinity* and Canon of *Christ Church*, *Canterbury*. We learn from the Inscription on his Grave-Stone there, (published in the *Appendix* to the Supplement of Mr. *Batteley's* History of that Church, p. 9.) that upon the Restoration he was prefer'd to that Prebend for his Loyalty, that he enjoyed it above forty Years, and dying *Anno* 1700 in the eighty second Year of his Age, left eighty Pounds a Year for ever for the Maintenance of Clergymen's Widows.

^h In the Catalogue of the ejected Heads of Colleges, Fellows, &c. subjoin'd to *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, there is mention of one *Chamberlaine*, Senior Fellow of *Trinity College*, *Cambridge*, who probably was the Person here spoken of, being of the same University, and most likely one that had suffered for his Loyalty, or he had not obtained the King's Mandat for his Degree: But his Christian Name being not set down in that Catalogue of Sufferers, I cannot be certain.

formed the Exercise required by the University, or according to ⁱ Custom gave sufficient Caution, that they would perform it within the Year; lest they should make an ill Precedent for others, who might afterwards abuse the Royal Favour to the Prejudice of the University. Indeed if all that were afterwards Candidates for that Degree, had followed their Example, the University had not had so much Reason to complain of her Sons seizing upon her Honours, whether they deserv'd them or no.]

It being the Custom of the University, that whoever would qualify himself for a Doctor in Divinity's Degree, should undertake scholastically to explain and determine some Theological Question in the publick

ⁱ That always was the Custom of the University, and still is; and accordingly in the King's *Mandat* abovementioned for conferring the Degree of Doctor of Divinity on these Persons, there is inserted the following Clause [They promising to keep their Acts and other Exercises belonging to that Degree, within some convenient Time of the Year following.] But in several of the following *Mandats* this Clause is left out, and a very different one added. *viz.* [without those previous Usages and Performances which are ordinarily required, &c. and without any subsequent Conditions, upon which they shall not have Conveniency to attend, &c.] and this most probably was the Ground of what my Author here adds of the University's Complaint, that *her Sons seized upon her Honours, whether they deserved them or no.*

Schools, Mr. *Barwick* for his Dissertation^k on that Oecasion, made choice of the *Thesis* or Position following: *Exomolegesin Primitivæ Ecclesiæ esse Disciplinam piam, ejusque restitutionem esse maximè optandam*: That is, *That the Method of imposing Penance, and restoring Penitents in the Primitive Church was a godly Discipline, and that it is much to be wish'd it were restored*: For whilst our misemploy'd Pretenders to Reformation were labouring with all their might to expunge out of our Liturgy the pious Rites of the ancient Church, and Customs in the daily Sacrifice hitherto obtaining among us: Mr. *Barwick* on the contrary with no less Industry endeavour'd to kindle in Men's Minds the Sparks of Primitive Piety, and if not to call back to his own Times that most wholesome Discipline, which had so long been piously and ardently desir'd by the Church of *England* (a Thing that appertain'd neither to his Station, nor

^k Though I published this Dissertation in the Latin Edition, I did not think it proper to translate it here; for besides that the Subject is rather too Scholastically treated for our Language, I could not judge it meet to put into *English* a Discourse, meerly for the Sake of which the Author thought fit to write the whole Life in *Latin*, as he tells us by and by, p. 286, 287.

to his Subject) yet at least to prove it from the ancient Monuments of the Church, to explain and recommend it to his pious Auditors, and pray for all Success to its being happily restor'd: For he thought it by all Means proper to appeal to that lively vigorous Christianity of the Primitive Times, when Piety towards God, Reverence to the pious Governors of the Church, Faith and Allegiance to the most August Emperors of the civil Government, and mutual Charity amongst Brethren conspir'd in an indissoluble League together. Nor indeed after such inexpressible Mercies receiv'd from the Hands of the Almighty, could he conceive that any Thing ordinary or vulgar in the Practice of Religion, much less what had neither Force nor Spirit, could beseem the Church of *England*. And this Dissertation of his having merited the Praise of his learned Auditors, who were the best Judges, I was not willing, that even so small a Remain of this excellent Person should be lost. · Indeed it was chiefly for the sake of this Piece, little as it is, that (being desir'd by some of the most religious and most learned Governors of the Church to take care to preserve it) I resolv'd to write the Au-

thor's Life in Latin, that I might not be oblig'd to compose the same History in a Language not every where the same.

The Subject of this History, now Dr. *Barwick*, returning from *Cambridge* to *London*, found the Ministers of State, and the Governors of the Church very intent upon restoring to every Cathedral a Dean and Chapter, by whose solemn Choice a new Bishop might after the accustomed Rite be elected into every See then vacant. And while the King gave order to find out fit Persons to fill those Places, Dr. *Barwick* easily obtain'd, that that grave Divine and honest Man Mr. *Thomas*¹ *Fothergil* formerly his Tutor at *Cambridge*, to whose Instructions he owed his Capacity to serve his Majesty, might be advanced to a Prebend in the Cathedral of *York*; being far more solicitous to gain some Preferment in the Church for one, to whom he had been so much indebted, than for himself: But as that good old Man by Letter returned him his hearty Thanks, for this Favour, though not very considerable, bestow'd on him be-

¹ See above, p. 9.

yond his Expectation ; so through the very great Love he had for the Doctor, he did not cease to advise him, and that in more Letters than one, to take Care not of his Friends only, but also of himself ; for he desir'd him to remember, that an Excess of Modesty was equally blameable with too much Craving and Importunity : Nay some, says he, will possibly be apt to condemn as faulty even a virtuous laudable Modesty, and to censure him of slighting his Majesty's Favour, who is too much afraid of seeming to importune him. But Dr. *Barwick*, not only when his Reverend Tutor, but when many others of his Friends enquired of him, not without Concern, what Share in this publick Distribution of the Royal Bounty he was like to have, who had done such eminent Service, and suffered so much Hardship ; was us'd to answer, that it was abundantly enough for him, that after such a Series of Calamities, he had lived to see the King restor'd to his Throne, Liberty to his Country, and Right to every one ; and that there was no need at all, that he should be importunate with, or troublesome to his most bountiful Prince, who had many Persons of great Worth, that had

had deserv'd very well of the Church and of his Majesty, and had therefore some Title to his Favour; on whom he might bestow Ecclesiastical Dignities more conveniently: That himself was sufficiently provided for by the Munificence of his excellent Patron the Bishop of *Durham*; and that now the ancient Laws were restor'd, and under the Royal Protection were in full Force, he desir'd nothing more, than by his Majesty's Favour to be maintained in his Right, from which the Iniquity of the Times had debarr'd him: For that excellent Prelate had bestow'd on this his most dear Chaplain, not only a ^m Prebend
in

^m *About the Time* (says Mr. Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. 1. Col. 732.) as 'tis said, that he took his Bachelor of Divinity's Degree, that is, towards the end of the Year 1645. This was probably the Prebend of the eighth Stall; and Dr. Walker observes, that he occurs in that as well as in the fourth, in which the Doctor records him as a Sufferer (*Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 20.*) But whereas Dr. Walker is at a Loss to know, which of those two Prebends, that of the fourth or the eighth Stall Dr. Barwick had first, and whether any one succeeded him in the latter, and was also a Sufferer in that; my worthy Friend Mr. Baker informs me, from Mr. Willis's Catalogue, that Robert, Brother to the Lord Grey of Werk, succeeded John Barwick as Prebend of the eighth Stall in the Church of *Durham*, and so was the other Sufferer there, though he afterwards enjoyed that Prebend many Years, having lived to a very advanced Age. Dr. Grey's Admission and Institution to it is placed in that

in the Church of *Durham*, but also two very rich Benefices not far distant from thence, one the Rectory of *Wolsingham*, the

Catalogue at the Year 1652, and both that Catalogue and Dr. *Walker* makes Mr. *Barwick* to have removed to the fourth Stall upon the Death of Dr. *Carr*; the Catalogue also expressly assigns that Removal to the Year 1644, which is above a Year before Mr. *Wood* supposes he had any Prebend at all in that Church. It is difficult to come to any Certainty in this Matter for want of a Register at *Durham* during those Times: But Dr. *Carr* having succeeded to the fourth Stall upon the Deprivation of *Peter Smart*, A. M. Anno 1631, and *Smart* having been restored to it by the Lords upon Dr. *Carr*'s Death, as Dr. *Cofins* informs us in his *Answer* to Mr. *Fuller*'s Charge (*Heyl. Exam. Histor.* p. 291.) and that in the beginning of the Long Parliament (*Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 11.*) Though the Proceeding of the Lords in restoring one, who had been deprived for seditious Preaching and Non-conformity by his Majesty's High Commission Court at *York* (*Wood ibid.*) might not be very regular; yet it can hardly be supposed, either that Bishop *Morton* would fill his Prebend, or Mr. *Barwick* accept it on a broken Title, by quitting another, whilst *Smart* was living. Indeed Mr. *Wood* (*ibid. Col. 12.*) places Mr. *Smart*'s Death at the Year 1642. But Mr. *Baker* assures me, that is a Mistake; for that he is sure he was living, *February 16, 1643*; nay has noted him as yet surviving, *October 12, 1647*, being then eighty Years of Age, and having done me the Favour to write to *Durham* about this Matter, is farther assured from a Friend there, that he had seen a Letter under *Smart*'s own Hand, dated *October 30, 1648*, and has moreover an Account from thence (not upon very sure Grounds) that he lived to the Year 1652, or near it. This agrees with the Time assigned by Mr. *Willis*'s Catalogue for Dr. *Grey*'s Admission to the eighth Stall, which Mr. *Barwick* most probably did not leave, till he removed to the fourth, and that being most likely also about this Time; if it was not, as is most probable, till after *Smart*'s Death, the Mistake of placing it after the Death of Dr. *Carr*, must proceed from an Oversight of Mr. *Smart*'s being restored after Dr. *Carr*'s Death.

other that of *Houghton in le Spring*, which latter had been long since enjoy'd by a Person most eminent for his great Sanctity, the Reverend Mr. ⁿ *Benjamin Gilpin*. He added, that he whom God by his Goodness, in delivering him from so many Misfortunes, had claim'd to himself, was now so little

ⁿ Born of an ancient and honourable Family at *Kentmeire* in *Westmorland* Anno 1517, became a poor serving Child of *Queen's College* in *Oxford*, Anno 1533, and was made Fellow of that College about the Time of his proceeding Master of Arts, then esteemed a good Disputant in Logick and Philosophy, and well read in Greek and Hebrew: So eminent for his Learning, that he was made choice of to be one of the first Masters to supply *Christ Church*, when first founded for a Dean, Canons, and Students by King *Henry* the Eighth. His Uncle *Tonstall* Bishop of *Durham* soon sent him thence to travel, and after his return, conferr'd on him the Rectory of *Esfington*, with the Archdeaconry of *Durham* annexed, about Anno 1556, both which he afterwards changed for this of *Houghton in le Spring*, where for his frequent preaching up and down the Country, he was called the *Northern Apostle*, and for his plentiful Almsgiving, *The common Father of the Poor*. On the Death of *Owen Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, *Queen Elizabeth* sent him a *Conge d' Elire* for that Bishoprick, but he refused it. He built and endowed a Grammar School at *Houghton*, where he died *March* 4, 1583, and was interr'd in that Church. By his Will, dated *October* 17, 1582. he left half of his Goods to the Poor of that Place, and the other half in Exhibitions to Scholars and Students in *Oxford*. *Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 703*. See his Life written by one of his Scholars, *George Carleton* Bishop of *Chichester*, and printed with his Sermon preached before King *Edward* the Sixth, Anno 1552: First printed in Latin under the following Title, *Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri sanctissimi, famaque apud Anglos Aquilonares celeberrimi*. London 1628, 4^{to}; published afterwards in *English* London 1636, 8^{vo}; and again in *Latin* in *Dr. William Bates's* Collection of Lives, London 1681, 4^{to}.

his own Master, that if he thought he could be more serviceable to the Church in a Living of less Value, he would willingly resign either or both these.

But although Dr. *Barwick* did not fill the King's Ears with his own Merits, yet many others, besides those abovementioned, appeal'd to that great Credit he had with his Majesty, for the Service they had done their Country. Among these was Mr. *Francis Cresset* mention'd above with great Honour, who either relying upon the Conscience of his own extraordinary Merit; or trusting to the Solicitations of a certain most noble^o Earl, thought he had no Occasion for Dr. *Barwick's* Testimonial, till almost six Months after the King's Return, as appears from the Date of this Certificate following.

“ These are with all possible Duty and
 “ Submission to acquaint the King's most
 “ excellent Majesty, and to certify all others
 “ whom it may concern, that Mr. *Francis*
 “ *Cresset* did with the utmost Fidelity serve
 “ the late King, while he was detain'd un-

^o Probably his own Lord, the Earl of *Pembroke*.

“ der the Government of the Army, and
 “ particularly that he lodged a Cypher with
 “ his Majesty, when the Penalty of High-
 “ Treason was denounced against any such
 “ Attempt; by which Cypher I wrote to
 “ the King every Week, and gave him an
 “ Account of his Affairs then transacting
 “ both in *England* and *Scotland*. These
 “ Letters Mr. *Cresset* delivered to his Ma-
 “ jesty with all Secrecy and Faithfulness,
 “ and also sent back his Majesty’s Orders
 “ and Commands in answer thereunto. And
 “ this I certify of my own perfect Know-
 “ ledge, being ready to give a fuller Testi-
 “ mony concerning this and other Services
 “ faithfully performed by him, whenever
 “ his Majesty shall please. In Witness where-
 “ of I have set my Hand this 10th Day of
 “ *October, A. D. 1660.*

John Barwick.

Indeed Dr. *Barwick* made little Doubt,
 but his Friend Mr. *Cresset* had long before
 partaken of his Majesty’s Bounty, having
 deserv’d so well of the Royal Martyr. Not
 contented therefore to have given the wor-
 thy Gentleman this Testimonial, he hastens

to wait upon the King in Person, and confirm by Word of Mouth what he had written on his Behalf; and humbly besought his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to reward his eminent Service. It was no little Concern to the King, to have been acquainted with Mr. *Cresset's* Merit so late, when now after so long Time there was scarce any Place left, either in the Government or in the Court, wherewith to recompence this Gentleman's Fidelity: Yet his Majesty was pleased to say, he would take Care, that if it would be acceptable to him, he should have some Place in the Family of the Queen, then expected to arrive soon. After this his Majesty ask'd Dr. *Barwick* many Questions concerning the Designs in those Times privately carried on for his Service; and being graciously pleas'd to send for Mr. *Cresset*, he kindly reprov'd him for not employing Dr. *Barwick* sooner to recommend him. But, says his Majesty, if any Thing be yet left, after so many Grants made on all Sides to my Friends, by which I can reward you, I desire you would not thank me for it, so much as your Friend Dr. *Barwick*, who has been very importunate with me not to forget you,

you, at the same Time that he has never ask'd the least Thing for himself, though he has deserv'd very well from me. Yet from these Applications to his Majesty, Dr. *Barwick* incurr'd the Displeasure of some Persons at Court; as if he had meddled in other Men's Business; though all the Concern he had therein was only to perform as well his Engagements to those, who had deserv'd the King's Favour, as his Duty and Promise to his Majesty himself.

About the same Time that these Matters were transacting, the chief of those who had conspir'd against the sacred Life of the Royal Martyr were brought to their Trial, and deservedly condemn'd to the Gallows. By the Command of the King and of the Bishops, Dr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Dolben* (at the writing of this Life Archbishop of *York*) were sent to these condemn'd Wretches, to try to persuade them to testify an unfeign'd Repentance before God, both of that horrid Crime, and of their other impious Deeds: And that they might employ their pious Endeavours to better Purpose with the others, their first Care was to sollicite *Hugh Peters*, the Principal and Ringleader of all the rest. The wild Prophecies ut-

tered by his impure Mouth were still receiv'd by the People with the same Veneration, as if they had been Oracles; tho' he was known to be infamous for more than one kind of Wickedness: a Fact which *Milton* himself (a very good Advocate for a very bad Cause) did not dare to deny, when he purposely wrote his Apology for this very end, to defend even by Name (as far as was possible) the very blackest of the Conspirators, and *Hugh Peters* among the chief of them, who were by Name accus'd of manifest Impieties by their Adversaries. The same Day that this Office was order'd to be discharg'd by these holy Men, one *Hulet* was brought to the Bar, suspected to have been one of the two mask'd Executioners hired to murder the King, and on that Account arraigned of High Treason. *Hugh Peters* also, among his other Crimes, was upon no slight Grounds accused to have been one of those Murtherers in Disguise, though it could not be sufficiently prov'd against him. Therefore Dr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Dolben* were commanded by his Majesty to use all their Endeavours to prevail with him, that if he knew any thing of that Matter, he would make no Scruple

to confess it, in favour of an innocent Person, and thereby deliver, as he ought, that *Hulet* or any one else, perhaps undeservedly suspected of that atrocious Crime, from suffering Death for it. When Dr. *Barwick* came to him first, commiserating his sad Condition, though what he had very justly deserv'd, he thought it most proper to address himself to him in Terms neither menacing nor any way severe: He therefore condescended to intreat him to make no Difficulty of admitting him and Dr. *Dolben*, both Ministers of the Gospel, and no less solicitous for his Salvation than for their own, to a friendly Conversation with him. But to all that was said to him, though with the utmost Candor, he answered with so much Surliness, Negligence, and Stupidity, and so little to the Purpose, that Dr. *Dolben* perceiving how little that gentle Method avail'd, was of Opinion, and that justly, that he ought to be treated with more Sharpness, to rouse him, if it were possible, from this Lethargick Unconcernedness for his better Part. He therefore advis'd him to remember, that he had but a few Hours left, to discharge himself before God (who is always present and merciful

to the Penitent) of that immense Load of Wickedness wherewith he had burthen'd his Conscience, drowsy and harden'd as it was; that those precious Minutes were not by any Means to be wasted in Shuffling, and saying what was nothing to the Purpose; and that he ought to think it a Matter of no little Moment, in what manner he intended the next Day to transmit his Soul into an unfathomable Abyss of Eternity. But he was deaf to all that either of them could say, and had so stop'd his Ears against the Admonitions not only of these two excellent Persons, but of those also who were his Accomplices in the same Crime, and were to suffer with him; and had so perfectly shook off all Sense of Piety and Religion (if ever he had any) that they earnestly requested these Divines to intercede with his Majesty, that a Person so deaf to all Advice, and so impenetrable to their sacred Ministrations, might not be hurried into another World, till he were brought, if possible, to a better Sense of his Condition. The chief of these was *John Cook*, who yet had made no Scruple that very Day to vindicate and defend this Wretch, in reality the Scandal and Reproach of the Pulpit,

Pulpit, against that incomparable Divine Dr. *Gunning*, when he was admonishing him friendly of the Heinousness of the Crimes he had committed; and to extol him as the brightest Example of true Holiness, by whom more Souls had been gain'd to Christ, than by any other Person in this Age. But Dr. *Dolben* and Dr. *Barwick* did not dare to promise, that they should be able to obtain of his Majesty any farther Respite of his Execution; lest that being flatter'd with the false Hope of protracting his Life, he should grow more obdurate to their sacred Admonitions: Nor, say they, does the Grace of the holy Spirit stand in need of such slow Methods, as not readily to offer itself every Hour to such as desire to repent in earnest. Accordingly the next Day, together with *Cook*, he was drawn upon a Sledge to Execution, still shewing the utmost Aversion to all good Counsel, and even to the Advice of *Cook* himself, seeming to believe very little in that God, whom he had so often invoked to patronize his impious Rebellion: Having this however (alas! how little this) of a good Man, that he no longer endeavour'd with a false Pretence of Sanctity to set a Grace upon the worst Cause in the World.

In

In what is said above we have had a very illustrious Testimony given by his Majesty himself, how much more earnestly Dr. *Barwick* prosecuted the Interest of others than his own; and this will farther appear from what I am yet to say: For when the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of *Derby* desir'd him to give up the Right he had to the Bishoprick of the Isle of *Man*; since, as she said, he might hope for better Preferment from his Majesty; and her Ladyship was very desirous, if he would give Way, to prefer her Chaplain Mr. *Samuel* ^P *Rutter* to that Diocese; Dr. *Barwick* readily complied with her Request, much rejoic'd that it was in his Power to oblige so great a Person. And indeed his most excellent Majesty thought it proper to promote him to

^P Mr. *Sacheverel* in his Account of the Isle of *Man* (p. 118.) tells us, Mr. *Rutter* was sworn Bishop *Anno* 1661: That he had been Archdeacon of *Man*, and governed the Church with great Prudence during the late Wars: That he was a Man of exemplary Goodness and Moderation, and sat Bishop to the Year 1663, and was then succeeded by Dr. *Isaac Barrow*, afterwards Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and thereupon observes Mr. *Wood's* Mistake, who (*Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 658.*) makes that See to have lain void from the Death of Bishop *Parr* (which happened in the Time of the Usurpation) to the Year 1662, and Dr. *Barrow* to have been the first Bishop there after the Restoration.

a higher Degree in the Church, than he had hitherto enjoy'd : For he would by all Means have advanc'd him to the See of *Carlisle* ; but that Dr. *Barwick* earnestly entreated, he might be excus'd not accepting this Royal Favour, lest he should seem to some (such was his great Modesty) to have a little gratified his own Ambition (as was observed above) in his zealous Endeavours to preserve the Episcopal Succession among us : He being therefore unwilling to be advanced higher than the Degree of a Presbyter, since there were not wanting Men of great Worth, who could bear the Weight of the Episcopal Office with less Envy, as he imagin'd, than he; his Majesty, in Regard of what he had deserved from him, as well as from the Church, was pleas'd to promote him to the Deanery ⁹ of *Durham*. He took Possession of that Deanery on the Feast of *All-Saints*, Anno 1660, reserving to himself out of the late Bishop's Munificence only the Rectory of *Houghton*, distant from *Durham* but four Miles; lest he should seem

⁹ Which had been vacant some Time on the Death of Dr. *William Fuller*, which happened May 12, 1659. *Wood Fasti Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 729.

to be too much wanting to the Care of Souls, for which he was first initiated into holy Orders. At *Durham* he enjoy'd a very large Revenue, wherewith he both repair'd the publick Buildings sacrilegiously ruin'd, and relieved the Poor, and kept Hospitality, entertaining Strangers of all Ranks, not delicately indeed (which he never affected) yet handsomely and generously. But above all Things his chief Care was, that God's most pure Worship should be celebrated with the utmost Decency (which by the Rage of the Fanaticks had been long abolished both at *Durham* and *Houghton*) and that a Bishop should be chosen for the Consolation of the Widow Church. His next Concern was, that all the Prebendal Houses, and especially the decayed Fabrick of the Cathedral, should not only be every Way secur'd against the Injuries of the Weather, but also embellish'd with such Ornaments, as became the House of God. He took Care likewise to erect a Grammar School from the Ground, and make it a Nursery of good Literature: He brought Water into the College to supply the Occasions of all the Prebendaries Houses: He took upon himself with great Readiness and Affection,

Affection, and with a most holy Zeal, both to bring all the Officers of the Church under good Discipline, and to a regular Life, and to augment the Stipends and Salaries of the poorer Sort, not only of the Mother Church, but of all the Churches which depended upon it: And the venerable Chapter not only gave their Consent to all this, but most readily join'd their helping Hand to promote it. [Yet they were so far from exacting in the Matter of Fines upon such as had Leases of the Church Lands, and were so beneficent to all the Poor, that in an Age very little favourable to the Clergy, they are mentioned with Honour to this Day for their Humanity, Candor, and Piety. Nay in many Cases they were so bountiful, as to recede from their own Right in favour of their Successors, that the Revenues of the Church might descend to them with some Augmentation.] But how much even in a few Months they deserved of that present Age, and how much of Posterity, will appear more evidently from the Things done about that Time, and register'd in the Archives of the Church of *Durham*, than from any Thing I can say of them. But the Register of that Church, who had surviv'd
the

the late Troubles, being uncapable of performing his Office for want of understanding Latin, the Trouble of registering the Orders of the Chapter lay generally upon Dr. *Barwick* alone, who perform'd the Office not only of the Dean, but of the Register, though he enjoy'd but a mean Share of Health during that whole Winter. So unwilling was he at any Time to spare himself, where it was in his Power to serve the Church; and so careful that nothing should be transmitted to Posterity, which could in the least reflect on that Fidelity, wherewith he administer'd his great Charge in the Church. And indeed that Cathedral stood in the utmost Need of such a Dean and Chapter; for besides the common Sacrilege of the *English* Enthusiasts, whereby all the Churches, especially the Cathedrals, were almost ruined; that of *Durham* had moreover frequently felt the deadly Hands of the *Scots*, and suffer'd more severely from the Conquered, than from the Conquerors: For by *Cromwell's* Order, the *Scotch* Prisoners taken at *Dunbar's* Fight, were confin'd
in

† This Battel was fought September 1³/₇, 1650, by General *Lesley*,

in this August Sanctuary, till, to preserve themselves from the Cold of the Winter, whereby they must otherwise have perished, they had been forc'd to make Fires of all the Wood-work therein, which they were able to pull down. But these Undertakings were too great for Dr. *Barwick* to see finished, while he enjoy'd the Deanery of *Durham*: For before the Year was expir'd, the Governors of the Church, by his Majesty's Command, sent for him up to *London*, to take Possession of the Deanery of *St. Paul's*, which then happen'd to be vacant ^f; as a Person not unfit to contribute something to the Reparation of the immense Ruins of that Cathedral. It is well known to every one, that if Dr. *Barwick* had regarded his own private Interest and Advantage, he would not have accepted this new Deanery, where there was neither House nor Furni-

Lestey at the Head of 20000 *Scots* against *Cromwell*, and between 16000 and 17000 *English* Rebels, who obtained a complete Victory, killed three thousand, and took ten thousand Prisoners. See *P. D'Orleans Hist. des Revolut. &c.* liv. x. p. 202, 204.

^f On the Death of Dr. *Matthew Nicholas*, LL. D. who had a Grant of this Deanery from King *Charles* the First, which because of the Confusion of those Times not taking Effect till after the Restoration, was then confirmed by King *Charles* the Second, *July* the 10th, 1660, and he install'd the same Day. *Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglic. p. 185.*

ture, but what was either hir'd or bought, in Exchange for that other, where neither was wanting. And indeed in answer to his Majesty's Message he wrote expressly, that he knew very well, the Dignity whereto he was going to be promoted, was both of less Value than that he must relinquish, and of greater Care and Trouble; and that what he then enjoy'd was so agreeable to him, that if it were at his Option, he would not quit it for the greatest Dignity in the Church, much less for that he was then commanded to accept; yet that he received his Majesty's Commands with the utmost Veneration, and should willingly comply with the Orders of his Superiors in the Church. But though he was not much addicted to his own private Gain; yet was he not very easily torn away from the North, which was always dear to him, and where he was much beloved; nor from that venerable College of his Brethren, to which he had engag'd himself in the strictest Ties of Love and Friendship. In the Number of those whom he left with Reluctance was *Mr. Richard Wrench*, formerly a great Honour

* A Native of the City of *Chester*, chosen Fellow of the College,

nour and Ornament to St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, before the late Destruction of the University, with whom from his younger Years he had in some Measure grown old in the same Studies of Piety and Learning, and whom he had always from his Youth esteem'd as an own Brother; there was ever such a Resemblance between them in their Manners. The Concern he had to part with this worthy Person, and the rest of his Reverend Brethren was afterwards not a little abated by that Friendship and brotherly good Will which he most religiously cultivated with others in St. *Paul's* Church, but especially with that most excellent and venerable old Man, Dr. ^u *Thomas Turner*,

as

College, *April* 5, 1636, at the same Time with his Friend Mr. *John Barwick* and Mr. *William Lacy*; ejected by the Earl of *Manchester* *April* 8, 1644, being then Bachelor of Divinity. At the Restoration, finding a worthy Man in his Fellowship, he would not disturb him. He was afterwards made Prebendary of *Durham*, and Rector of *Bolden* in that County. Mr. *Baker*, who remembers him, says he was an excellent good Man, an Encourager of Learning, would often come into their School at *Durham*, and examine the Scholars, and always allotted one Day for their Entertainment, during his Month of Residence. See Dr. *Walker's* *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Part 2. p. 149.

^u Son of *Thomas Turner* of *Heckfield* in the County of *Southampton*, Alderman and Mayor of *Reading* in *Berkshire*, born in the Parish of *St. Giles's* in that Borough (about *Anno* 1593) admitted Scholar of *St. John's* College in *Oxford* (*June* 26,) 1610,

as zealous an Assertor, as he, of the publick Good.

[It is the Custom of the Church of *Durham* (contrary to that of almost all other Churches) that in letting Leases of the Lands belonging in particular either to the Dean or to any one of the Prebendaries, they suffer nothing of their yearly Value to be diminish'd (as is usual) for a considerable term of Years, in Consideration of a large Fine paid down: And by this Means it comes to

under the Tuition of Mr. *William Juxon*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Becoming a practical useful Preacher, much followed by all the Orthodox, he was made Domestick Chaplain to Bishop *Laud*, Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles* the First, Canon Residentiary of *St. Paul's*, *October 29, 1629*, and Dean of *Rochester*, *February 26, 1641*. Soon after he was sequester'd from his Church of *St. Olave* in *Southwark*, plundered, carried away Prisoner by a Party of Horse, and forced to fly for his Life. In *1643* he was made Dean of *Canterbury*, but not restored to the Profits of it till *August 10, 1660*. He died *October 8, 1672*, in the eighty first Year of his Age, and was interr'd in that Cathedral. *Wood Fast. Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 876, 877.* Dr. *Walker* reckons it a singular Reward from God, for his great Sufferings, and his Affection to the Church of England, that he was blessed with two such Sons as Dr. *Francis Turner* sometime Bishop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Thomas Turner*, late President of *Corpus-Christi College* in *Oxford* (Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 6.) The Doctor might have mentioned a third Son of his, also Doctor of Divinity, Dr. *William Turner*, sometime Archdeacon of *Northumberland* (*Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 892.*) all three by his Wife *Margaret*, Daughter of Sir *Francis Windebank*, Secretary of State to King *Charles* the First See his Epitaph published in the Appendix to the Supplement of Mr. *Battely's* History of the Church of *Canterbury*, p. 7.

pass, that their Benefices descend to their Successors full as much in Value, as they receiv'd them from their Predecessors. But the Farms which belong to ^w the whole Church in general are let after the common Custom of other Churches; which in that ruined State of Things, if ever else, seem'd altogether necessary.]

But after Dr. *Barwick* had Notice, that he was soon to leave *Durham*, he put a Stop to all leasing of Farms (even some where the Fine had been already agreed upon between the Chapter and the Tenants) that the Revenue of the Deanery might come more intire to his Successor *, who was soon to take Possession of it; yet he would not suffer the least Stop to be put, either to the regular Celebration of Divine Service at the appointed Hours three Times

* The Chapter Lands, such as belong to the Body in common, are let here, as in other Churches, by a Lease of 'twenty one Years, on a Fine payable every seven. So every Corps in other Churches, or the Lands peculiar to each Prebendary, are leas'd either for three Lives, or twenty one Years, and a Fine paid every seven Years, or as often as a Life drops: But in the Church of *Durham* each Corps is let, as Gentlemen let their Estates, or Parsons their Glebe, at a Rack Rent, without any Fine, and at as high a yearly Value as they can.

* Dr. *John Sudbury*, nominated in *October* 1661, and install'd *February* 15 following. *Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 732.*

a Day, at which himself was always present; or to the courteous Entertainment at his own Table of such Strangers as were at Prayers; or to his bountiful Distribution of Alms to the Poor; or to the hastening, as much as was possible, the publick Works lately begun; or lastly, to the making up of the Church Accounts with all Clearness, Distinctness, and Perspicuity; that he who was to be next promoted to this Charge and Dignity, might find nothing in them either perplex'd, uncertain, or confus'd, nor transmit any Thing of that Nature to future Ages. Together with the Deanery of *Durham*, Dr. *Barwick* voluntarily resign'd the Rectory of *Houghton*, which he had then enjoy'd a Year; and that though by the Laws he might have held it longer, and was by some press'd so to do, at least till he should have discharg'd himself of several Repairs in the Church Buildings, and of his Majesty's first Fruits which were not small, and one half thereof, exceeding fifty five Pounds, at that Time still due: But he chose rather to have held this Benefice till then to his own Loss, than to expose himself and his Order to such a Reproach, as that he sheer'd his dearest Flock, when he

was at too great a Distance conveniently to feed them.

About the middle of *October* 1661, Dr. *Barwick* undertook this new and difficult Charge, with a Habit of Body broken by Care and Pains, but with a Mind sufficiently rais'd: His first Care at *London* was, what it had been also at *Durham*, to restore the Celebration of Divine Service by the sacred Musick of a Choir, which had for I know not what Reason been hitherto omitted. [Some say that the Dean his Predecessor had till then purposely abstained from that Method of Celebration, in Hopes by little and little thereby to abate the Envy of the Sectaries. But their Envy at that Time did not seem to be of such Moment, if an Estimate thereof were made from the Force they were able to exert in the then late Elections of Parliament Men. Besides that so good a Man, as we must think that Dean was, is reverenc'd even by such as are bad. It seems more probable, that this and some other Things, which might have been for the Service of the Church, were omitted by that excellent Person, only because of his ill Health: For he died within

less y than a Year after he took Possession of the Deanery. It is certain Dr. *Barwick* was not much concern'd for the Envy of the Sectaries, if he lay under it. What affected him a great deal more was, that he found the College of Minor Canons to that Time, not only negligent of God's Worship, but fill'd with Men for the greatest part very unfit at least to celebrate it in a Church one of the most renown'd in the whole Christian World. The Number of those Canons in this College is twelve; and it is endow'd with a particular Revenue sufficient, if duly managed, to maintain them. Of this Number, after the Civil War, there was only one left, who had been fully and absolutely admitted into the Right of a Canon. But there were two others, who according to the Custom of this College had been admitted only for a Year of Probation, after the Expiration of which, if they were not approv'd of by all the rest of their Collegues, and by the Dean, with the unani-

† In little more than a Year, if Mr. *Le Neve's* Account from *Newport's* Repertory be right, who says he was install'd July 10, 1660, and died August 14, 1661. *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* p. 185.

mous Consent of the Chapter, admitted into an absolute Right of the Society (neither of which had been done in their Case) they could not be taken into any Share of the Management of the College Affairs, if they would regulate themselves by their own Statutes. Yet this only surviving Canon (with those two Probationers or Candidates, taken in only to make a shew of Collegues) had claim'd to himself the Right of the whole Body, had laid his Hands on the greatest part of the College Revenue, nor admitted any one to supply the Number of Canons, but such as would freely consent to be so defrauded. Dr. *Barwick* thought no Pains too much to regulate this Abuse, and wipe off so shameful a Blemish from the Church. Nor were there wanting among those learned in the Law some of great Note, who thought the Matter very practicable; yet what he would at length have been able to do, if he had enjoy'd better Health and longer Life, is not easy to conjecture: So hard a Matter it often is to undo what ought not to have been done. Dr. *Barwick* was yet more concern'd for this foul Practice, when he heard that the Man who had taken upon him to sustain the

the whole College in his own Person, had never been admitted to Priest's Orders, which yet, by the Statutes, all the Canons of this Church are oblig'd to be. It is certain that for thirty Years he had very seldom or never been seen to perform Divine Service in *St. Paul's Cathedral*; whether it were thro' Neglect of his holy Office, or that he dreaded (as it was fit he should) to touch what was sacred with prophane Hands: Yet when the Rebels expos'd a Farm of his College to sale, he did not dread employing one under-hand to purchase it for him: He did not dread in a hostile manner ejecting the Tenant of that Farm (though an honest Man, who for many Years had lawfully enjoy'd it) and that with no little Loss both of his Cattle and Goods: He did not dread selling the same Farm afterwards for his Advantage, and again redeeming it, a most impudent Barterer of the sacred Revenue of the Church, at the same Time that he would have been accounted one of her Priests. Nay after his Death the Person that held this Farm in Trust for him, was not asham'd to sollicite the Chapter then restor'd to its Rights, to postpone the ancient rightful Tenant, and admit him, as having
a just

a just and lawful Title to the Farm. And indeed he gave Dr. *Barwick* no little Trouble, for presuming to reject this Request as unreasonable; and not questioning but he had Interest enough to raise against him the Indignation not of the Parliament only, but even of the King, he fill'd all Men's Ears with the most unjust Complaints against him, not to give them a harder Name. Yet Dr. *Barwick*, a rigid Asseror of what was right and good, resolv'd to bear all this Envy, till the Case being more fully examin'd, he afterwards happily remov'd it, and obtain'd leave for himself and the Chapter to let the Farm to a juster Tenant. Not was this the only Instance, wherein that Person's Covetousness of what belong'd to others, fail'd of the Success he wish'd: For besides that mention'd, there was another Portion of the Church Revenue, which did not stick to his pitchy Fingers, namely the Tythes of *St. Gregory's*, which he had got from his Brethren almost for nothing, and procur'd to be leas'd out for twenty one Years to the same Person, whose Name he had made use of before: Besides he had contriv'd against all Right and Justice, and to the Prejudice of his Collegues, to diminish
 some

somewhat of the ancient Revenue, which us'd to be paid yearly to his College, though it was before very small. But our Laws are so severe against those that injure the Church in this manner, that they provide no less a Punishment for such Offenders, than that a Lease of that sort is judged absolutely null and void, and the Estate comes intire to the Successor, to be by him leas'd out at Pleasure to any one: And the new Dean was so much offended with the Greediness of this ill Man, that he took effectual Care to obtain that Sentence of the Law against him. But though Dr. *Barwick* was so strenuous an Assertor of the Rights of the Church, that he was not afraid to plead his Cause before the publick Judicatories of the Kingdom, nor even before his Majesty himself in Council, as often as he saw the Estate of his venerable Mother the Church in Danger, which by the Religion of an Oath he had oblig'd himself to preserve untouched: Yet he was such a Lover of Peace, that he often yielded up much of his own particular Right; always allowing private Differences to be referr'd to private Arbitration, tho' sometimes to his own no little Damage.

When

When therefore the Rights of the Church were hardly secure enough from those, whom the Church her self had carefully nourish'd in her Bosom; how willingly would those without her Pale, who had always openly spurn'd at her, their most holy Mother, catch at this Opportunity to offer Violence to her? For this Reason the Dean thought it proper humbly to implore his Majesty's Protection on this Occasion, and to obtain two Royal Grants under the Broad Seal, one for Repairing the decay'd Walls of the Cathedral, the other for taking Care of its Privileges and Immunities, extinguish'd in the late Rebellion, and not yet sufficiently restor'd. Nor did he only use his utmost Endeavours to defend against her Enemies the Church under the Divine Providence committed to his Charge; but sometimes also employ'd his Care, that she should not suffer by the Imprudence of her Friends; if peradventure they did any Thing with no ill Design, which Posterity might draw in to a Precedent to her hurt. Hence it was, that when the Lord Mayor of *London* (while the Dean was in the Country taking the Air for his Health) had order'd himself a new Seat to be made in *St. Paul's*

Church

Church at the Expence of the City; as soon as the Dean heard of it, he press'd that honourable Person, in more than one Letter, to permit the Church, to whom the Care of those Matters properly belong'd, to excuse the City from that Expence; and took Care, that Copies of the Letters which he wrote upon that Occasion, were transcrib'd into the authentick Registers of the Church, lest possibly the City, let into a Mistake by such a Precedent, might afterwards claim some Right in a Church, which, under God and the King, is altogether free.

But to return to the Ruins of this Fa-
brick. It was evident the Condition there-
of was so deplorable, as far exceeded the
Abilities of the Chapter to repair, and re-
quir'd even at that Time (alas how much
more after the dreadful Fire of *London*!)
the Assistance not only of all the Clergy,
but of all Orders of Men; especially when
every good Man, who had been promoted
to any considerable Dignity in the Church,
had freely and liberally contributed both to
the Payment of the publick Debts, and to
the Ransoming of Christian Captives Abroad
from the barbarous Tyranny of the *Turks*,
and

and also to the Relief of the Poor of all sorts at Home, who were languishing up and down almost every where. However they that administred the Affairs of this Church look'd upon it as their Duty especially, more than others, according to their severall Abilities, and in Proportion to what every one had receiv'd from the Church-Revenues, to set others an Example of Munificence. These together with the Dean are four, having each an equal Dividend with him of the common Income of the Church. They compassionating (as was but meet) the dismal Estate of the Fabrick, did not only by an unanimous Order of Chapter appoint all the Rents of the Houses lately built in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, both then due, and afterwards as they should become due, to be set apart for the Repairs of it; but every ² one of them likewise out of his own Pocket gave five hundred Pounds for the same Use, when *Dr. Barwick* had been so little a while Dean of this Church, as besides that

² These besides *Dr. Barwick* the Dean, were *Dr. Thomas Turner*, *Dr. John Hacket*, and *Dr. Edward Layfield*. *Synod. Anglican. Append.* p. 61.

Sum hardly to have receiv'd from its Revenue enough to defray his daily Expences. Little of what belong'd to the Dean in particular happen'd to be leas'd out in his Time; except one House in the City; in letting which he made a considerable Abatement to his own Loss, in favour of a certain Gentleman of *London*, of whom he had formerly receiv'd a hundred Pounds towards his Majesty's Support in his Exile: For the good Dean was so affected with this Instance of Piety to his Prince in Distress, that when the Price agreed for this House did not exceed three hundred Pounds, he yet willingly remitted a third Part thereof to a Person that had deserv'd so well of the King and of the Church. There were some of the Clergy at that Time (though perhaps undeservedly) not so well spoken of upon this Article, as seeming more intent on their private Gain, than became that Juncture of Time, and a little too rigid Exactors of their Right, now immediately after so great Calamities. But I may venture to say, that Dr. *Barwick* never gave any just Occasion for Complaints of this Nature, whether any thing belonging to the Dean in particular were to be leas'd
out

out by him alone, or any part of the publick Estate of the Church, in Conjunction with the Residentiaries. Indeed the Chapter acted so generously with the learned Society of *London* Physicians, that they let them that noble House, where their College us'd to meet, without any Fine; when they might each to his own Share have made a hundred Pounds out of that Lease. They only desir'd, without any Stipulation, that when they should see the Repairs of the Cathedral carrying on with any Diligence, they would not scruple every one to contribute something to promote so charitable a Work; as they hoped many other worthy Persons would readily do, though under no other Obligations to them, than for their Prayers daily offer'd up to God. For thus they, who had the Care of this Church, thought it most proper to discharge that Trust, so as not to render themselves unworthy either of the Ecclesiastical Patrimony, or of the Royal Protection, or of every good Man's Approbation and Praise; stopping the impure Mouths of those envious and malicious Persons, who are almost every where blasting the Reputation of the Clergy: And as often as their Farms in the

Country were to be visited, that the Church might suffer no Loss in her Woods, or Lands, or Houses, the Dean (tho' he enjoy'd but ill Health, and was to make his Progress thro' those Parts of *Essex*, where the Air is not very wholesome) was not willing that either himself or his Brethren should be wanting to this Duty; lest if they had left an Affair of such Moment to Commissioners or other Trustees (in that State of Things not yet sufficiently recover'd from the late Disturbances) whoever they had employ'd might either have been negligent in the Care of what was not their own, or perhaps have dealt more hardly with the Tenants, than had been decent for the Masters of the Lands themselves to have done. Nay when he was now so ill, that his Friends thought him altogether unfit to take the Journey, and having enter'd upon it, actually began to faint by the Way; yet he was hardly persuaded to entrust the Business with others; he had the Reputation of the Clergy so much at Heart, which he tacitly fear'd would suffer from the Avarice or Imprudence of one or other.

But among all those religious Designs which employ'd his daily Thoughts, there
was

was none he esteem'd and desir'd to effect more (even from the Time the Church was first restor'd, and cleans'd from the Errors which had defil'd it) than that the holy Communion should be oftner administered in that famous Church committed to his Charge, than it had ever us'd to be hitherto. For he could not but be ashamed when he read the Rubrick (as many other good Men also were) as often as he observed, that it is there enjoyn'd in express Words, that " in Cathedral and Collegiate
 " Churches and Colleges, where there are
 " many Priests and Deacons, they shall all
 " receive the Communion with the Priest
 " every *Sunday* at the least, except they
 " have a reasonable Cause to the contrary." Which most wholesome Appointment he saw so much neglected almost every where, that there were far less frequent Occasions, than was meet, of partaking of the mystical Banquet of Christs Body and Blood. Nor was he willing to think so hardly and so dishonourably of the greatest and most famous City in the World (wherein he knew many excellent and pious Persons, utter Enemies to the wild Opinions of the Sectaries) as not to be able to expect from thence a sufficient

Number of Communicants ready to present themselves at their Lord's holy Table, as often as the Laws of the Church require; especially, if in Sermons the People were diligently admonish'd, and clearly instructed concerning so holy and necessary a Duty, so agreeable to the Standard of Primitive Piety, and the Example of the Apostolick Age. For what Sight could be more worthy of God, Angels, and Men, than after Mercies receiv'd from the Almighty, which no Time should ever efface out of pious Minds, to see the People often prostrate on the holy Pavement, humbly stretching out their Hands to God, and out of pure Hearts as it were continually offering him their highest Praises and Eucharistick Vows?]

But while Dr. *Barwick* was employ'd in the Discharge of this Province, he was called to another and a more sublime Degree of Dignity, to which the Order of Presbyters in our Church has none equally either illustrious or difficult: For by the unanimous Suffrage of all the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* assembled in Convocation, he was chosen President of the College of Presbyters, or (as it is commonly call'd)

called) ^z Prolocutor. But the Favour and good Will of those who advanced him to that Dignity, gave him far more Pleasure, than the Dignity it self; when he found plainly, that some whose Interest it was very much, that the Practice of Religion should be zealously promoted, were not yet hearty enough in their Endeavours to restore the decay'd Discipline of the Church. But if the Convocation had thought fit, they might have consulted the Reputation of the Clergy better, either by reviving those old Laws, which the late Schism had render'd obsolete, or by making new ones, as in their Prudence they should have seen Occasion. But, who they were that prevented laying hold of an Opportunity of doing the Church that Service, it is not lawful to conjecture, where the Case is invidious, and perhaps

^z On the 18th of February 1661, in the Place of Dr. Henry Fearn, on his Promotion to the See of Chester. *Synod. Anglican. Append. p. 101.* Before this his Majesty had appointed him one of the nine Assistants to the twelve Bishops commission'd to hold a Conference with the like Number of Presbyterian Ministers upon the Review of the Liturgy, which Conference was held at the Bishop of London's Lodgings in the Savoy.

See the Commission published at the end of Dr. Nichols's Preface to his *Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer.* Edit. in Fol.

not sufficiently known : Yet this is most certain, that his sacred Majesty granted this venerable Assembly Liberty under the Broad Seal to accomplish this Work : Nor is it less certain, that the Convocation divided itself into diverse Colleges or Committees for carrying it on, and assigned each their peculiar Share therein. Yet to the very great Grief of all good Men, these Preparations came all to nothing : For the Endeavours of many, though very hearty, were wholly frustrated by one or two, on whom this Matter chiefly depended. But this neglect of the Affairs of Religion was Matter of so much Anguish to Dr. *Barwick's* pious Mind, that I have heard him give vent to his Grief in Expressions to this Purpose ; that neither the desperate Disease he formerly laboured under, nor the Severity of his Confinement, nor Death itself, nor the Torture he was often threatned with, were ever so grievous to him : For who that was not absolutely divested, I will not say of all Religion, but of common Humanity, could with an even Mind have born to see exposed to sale in the Booksellers Shops publickly and with Impunity, Principles worthy of the direst *Anathemas*, such

as these following, *viz.* ^b That the Murther of the King, and other atrocious Crimes perpetrated by the late Rebels, were Facts done by Persons not using their free Will, but necessarily complying with the Will of God ; and that God himself is both the Author and Persuader, not only of all Good, but of all Evil ; nay that nothing is in its own Nature either good or evil, any farther than as it is forbid or permitted by the municipal Laws of every Government? Under the Shelter and Protection of these Principles, such Impiety as hardly any Age had heard of, disdaining its secret Recesses and Obscurity, was not ashamed to put out its dreadful Head, and with great Arrogance stalk publickly through the open Streets, as a most unlucky Omen, and melancholy preface of those Calamities which soon after followed. Such at that Time was the State of the Church of *England*, that had been tossed of late by so many Waves, had struck on so many Sands, been dashed against so

^b See the Judgment and Decree of the University of *Oxford*, pass'd in their Convocation on *July 21, 1683*, against certain pernicious Books and damnable Doctrines, destructive to the sacred Persons of Princes, their State and Government, and of all human Society.

many Rocks, and when at last by the Providence of God she was happily driven to the Harbour, and even there just ready to perish, was imploring Help (alas how in vain!) from her own Sons, who, she made no doubt, were very fit to govern the Helm. For this was but too evident, that there were some at that Time, who on the Restoration of the Monarchy did not answer the Expectation conceived of them under its Oppression, rather chusing to make waste of, and destroy all the Effects of God's immense Bounty, than reap any Advantage for the Times to come from a Success of Affairs, that far surpass'd all Men's Hopes: So much more difficult it is to bear Prosperity than Adversity.

By these Evils chiefly overcome (as many thought) the Lady *Savile*, that illustrious Example of Piety towards God, and Love to her Country, about this Time resigned her Breath, easily yielding to a Distemper contracted from her weariness of an Age so wicked and so ungrateful to God, unshaken as she had stood against the secret Conspiracies and open Force of the most inveterate Enemies of the Crown. When she found
her

her Disease increase upon her, leaving the Town, she went to her House at *Wimble* in *Cambridgeshire*, and sent for Dr. *Barwick* to her from *London*, desirous to make use of his pious Ministrations in her last Extremity, whose Constancy in both Fortunes she had often experienced, as well as his Counsel in doubtful, and his Fidelity in difficult Affairs: And, a Year and a half after the Restoration, she gave up her great and innocent Soul to God.

Not long after her Death, Dr. *Barwick* also, from a Diligence in the Management of the Affairs of the Church exerted beyond his Strength, labouring by any Means to remedy the Evils now mentioned, relapsed into his old Distemper, which had been so near destroying him formerly. About the end of *November*, 1662, he began to be very ill, and was some Months confined to his Chamber; only that at *Christmas* he would not be wanting to his Cathedral, though his Distemper had given him little or no Respite: So earnestly desirous was he to encourage the Devotion of the Citizens assembling themselves together at the holy Communion, to join in their most sacred Vows, and offer them up to God; with
his

his own Hand, though very weak and infirm with his Distemper, willingly reaching forth to such as desired them, the most holy Mysteries of our Lord's Passion. Nor would he have thought much, if in the Discharge of his Office he should have yielded to Mortality, to which even the slothful and idle must be at last obliged to yield. And indeed he paid but too dear for this Zeal for Religion, of which he, that had set his Heart so much upon Heaven, had yet little Occasion to repent: For by too much Agitation of the Blood in officiating at the Altar, there seemed to be raised a mutual Conflict between its sulphureous and saline Particles; from whence he was seiz'd with a most violent Cough, and a very offensive Stench of Breath, altogether like that which is used to strike the Nostrils of Chymists, when they are preparing what they call *Sal Sulphuris*, and other Salino-sulphureous Medicaments. This Cough, which grievously disturb'd him Day and Night, was followed with an excessive Discharge of Blood from his Breast, in such Quantities as fill'd whole Basins. On this deplorable Case there was a Consultation of the most eminent Physicians, who all agreed,

agreed, that that immoderate Ebullition of Blood was to be asswaged by frequent Bleeding, and proper tempering Medicines. But they were not all of one Mind with Regard to what Benefit might be expected from the Change of Air. Some were of Opinion, that, above all Things, he ought to be removed, even at any Season of the Year, from the Air of the City, thicken'd with Salino-sulphureous Vapours arising from the Soot and Smoak of the Coals: Others were afraid, that the Parts about his Breast would receive more Damage than Advantage from thinner Air, till it was become more mild and gentle, which could not be expected at Mid-Winter. Dr. *Barwick* himself was more inclin'd to the Opinion of the latter, not only because they were Persons of great Age, and much Experience in Physick; but because he himself could attend the Affairs of the Church, on which his Thoughts were always employed, more conveniently at Home than Abroad. For it is hardly credible, even after so prodigious an Evacuation of Blood, how cheerfully and indefatigably he still laboured in his daily Business: But at last, after many Remedies applied to no Purpose, his Strength continually

decaying

decaying through an immense Loss of Blood, he removed into the Country, rather forc'd by the Importunity of his Distemper, than perswaded by the Advice of his Friends.

There was no Place he desir'd to retire to more, than *Therfield* in *Hertfordshire*: For he had lately taken that Rectory ^c, and could have lodg'd there in his own Parsonage-House, situated in a very free and pure Air. But his Strength being too far exhausted to bear so long a Journey, and almost daily wanting the Help of Physicians, which could not be had so conveniently at that

^c Where (as the present worthy Rector of that Church, the very Reverend Dr. *William Sherlock* Dean of *Chichester* informed me) there is a Communion Flagon of his Donation, with this Dedicatory Inscription upon it.

*Deo Opt. Max.
Ecclesia de Therfield*

D. D.

*Reverendus Vir Johannes Barwick
Decanus } Ecclesia { Paulina
Rector } { Therfieldiana
Tu ne despice, Christe.*

Dedicated to Almighty God for the Use of the Church of *Therfield* by the Reverend Dr. *John Barwick*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, and Rector of *Therfield*. O Christ, despise it not.

On the Lid of it is inscrib'd,

Poculum benedictionis cui benedicimus, nonne Communicatio Sanguinis Christi est? 1 Cor. x. 16.

The Cup of Blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ?

great

great Distance from the Town; he chose rather to go to *Chiswick*, only five Miles off; where he was entertained with great Respect and Civility in the House of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas* ^d *Elborow*, a very good Man, formerly his Pupil at *Cambridge*, and then Vicar of that Church. And here those Remedies, which had before been made use of to no purpose in *London*, did not fail of Success, having doubtless no little Help from the Change of the Air, and his Rest from Business, as formerly in the Tower of *London*. But in the return of the Spring, his Health and Life being in some Measure restor'd, though still in a State hazardous enough, he had a very great Desire to return to his Cathedral, not enough to his Satisfaction taken Care of in his Absence; and even to visit the Church-Lands com-

^d Originally of *Hastebitch* in *Northamptonshire*, admitted in *St. John's College Cambridge*, April 3, 1639, and made Vicar of *Chiswick*, September 26, 1662, on the Presentation of the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's*, most probably by his Tutor's Interest. He published two Books of *Exposition of the Common-Prayer*, and in the Dedication of the last mentions his having parted with two Livings in *Leicestershire*, which he seems to repent of, probably disappointed of better Preferment by Dr. *Barwick's* Death. He died himself April 15, 1675. *Newcourt's Rep.* p. 587.

mitted to his Care : But sinking under the Weight of his Distemper (as was intimated above) in the midst of that Progress, he was forc'd to go back to his Retirement and Repose in the Country. Yet he seem'd not to be so weary even of his deadly Malady itself, as of these Interruptions and Avocations from the publick Business that lay upon him : For as often as he had recover'd never so little Strength, he was us'd to impair and destroy it, by returning ever and anon to his former Labours : Nor was the Permission of the Governors of the Church sufficient, without their express Command, to keep him at *Chiswick*, where he was always best. This was the only Instance wherein he shew'd the least Reluctance in obeying their Commands ; in all others perhaps no Man was ever more obedient to his Ecclesiastical Superiors, and readier to comply with their Orders : Nor indeed was there any Thing that I know of, wherein Dr. *Barwick* was more to blame, than that the repeated Admonition of his Friends could not prevail with him to take due Care of his Health. There was nothing indeed so grievous to him, as what he interpreted sleeping away his Life in Sloth
and

and Idleness; when it was the Duty of all good Men to unite their Forces as it were in a Body, and support the Church, which was every Day in more Danger of falling. Nay, said he, with what Face can I live so plentifully on the Revenue of that Church, to which I cannot lend my poor Assistance? And yet there very seldom passed one Day, wherein he did not (as his Duty requir'd) afford his helping Hand to his most sacred Mother, by writing Letters to his Agents at *London*. Besides all this, and his constant reading of the holy Scriptures, and stated Hours of private Devotion, which he observed daily (that he might even in his Country Retirement do the Church all the Service he could) he did not think much to read over, and put into Order whole Loads of Papers and old Manuscripts, most written in ancient Characters, and
the

* Sir William Dugdale, in his *Introduction* to the *History* of St. Paul's Cathedral (p. 27. Edit. 2.) tells us, that all those venerable Chartularies and Records belonging to that ancient and famous Church, which upon the sacrilegious and ravenous Seizure of the Deans and Chapters Lands throughout this whole Nation by the Long Parliament. coming to the Hands of one Mr. *John Reading*, Chairman of the Committee for ordering the Possessions thereof, were by *Reading* casually communicated
to

the writing half worn out with Age, which in the late Times of Distraction had been taken out of the Archives of the Church, and thrown together confusedly in a great Heap: and he so carefully endorsed all these Papers, which had been omitted in Ages before, that it appeared at first sight, what the Subject of every Particular was. Nor would he suffer himself to be dragg'd from these old musty Volumes (though the Stench of them could not but be very offensive and prejudicial to his infected Lungs) whether it was that he well knew every one was not capable of doing this Business, or that he thought it concern'd him above all Things, not to be ignorant of the ancient Rights of the Church, which were to be learnt from such Writings as these. He did not bear these Studies (it seems) without great Inconvenience: For when he went out to see his old Friend the Reverend Dr.

to him (Sir *William*) whence (says he) having reduced them out of no little Confusion, and extracted what I have said in my ensuing Discourse of this Cathedral, I kept them in my Hands during the whole Time of the late Usurpation; and soon after his late Majesty was most happily restored, did faithfully deliver them unto the then worthy Dean Dr. *Barwick*, by whom being carefully laid up, they are still preserved for the Benefit of after Ages.

Busby, the celebrated Master of *Westminster* School (who was also retir'd to *Chiswick* for some Refreshment in his toilsome Employment) in the midst of the Way on a sudden he was seiz'd with an immoderate Efflux of Blood. Now it happen'd at that Time, that some Travellers pass'd by, of that sort, it seems, who bear a great Hatred to the Clergy, without any Ground: For as if they had been delighted with this sight; behold, say they, one of *Baal's* Priests, drunk with red Wine, and discharging his overloaded Stomach. There was certainly no Man living, against whom they could with more Injustice have thrown this cursed Dart of a poyson'd Tongue: For it was about fifteen Years since he had tasted the least drop of Wine, except at the holy Sacrament, continually tempering and diluting the Heat of his Blood with cold Spring Water only. As soon as the good Dean was able to take Breath after this Fit of vomiting Blood, little mov'd with so unworthy a Reproach, and wishing his Revilers a better Mind; these Calumnies, said he, ought to be refuted only by our good Deeds: For it was no new or unaccustom'd Thing at that Time, after the

Barriers of the Church were broken down, that the best Men suffer'd the Punishment due to the worst, even from such as were the vilest Wretches themselves; if there be any Punishment in being barbarously revil'd with villainous Invectives. Thus if any of the Clergy worn out with old Age and former Calamities, made use of a Staff to support his aged weak Limbs, as he walk'd along the Streets; he was pointed at as one, that through Drunkenness was not able to govern his Steps. If he look'd earnestly round about with his dim Eyes, to find out any Place he was to go to in the City; some insolent Scoffer would thus reflect upon him: That Parson has devour'd five fat Livings, and see with what prying Eyes he is seeking after a sixth. Indeed I knew this severe Reflection cast upon one, who had not only refus'd a Benefice deservedly offer'd him, but had voluntarily resign'd those he had accepted, because he thought his ill Health render'd him incapable to take due Care of them. From these Reproaches of ill Men the best of the Clergy could not be safe, neither Mr. ^f *Oley*,

‡ See above, p. 126.

nor Mr. *Thorndike* ^g, nor Mr. *Thirscrofs* ^h, nor any of those great Men, who with incomparable Sanctity of Life have adorn'd this worst Age, altogether worthy of a better.

But that I may now finish this Life in a few Words: This last Fit of vomiting Blood, with which Dr. *Barwick* was seiz'd, seem'd to be more dangerous than all the rest; not only because the Evacuation was in a larger Quantity, than any he had had before at *Chiswick*; but because it, was preceded

^g Mr. *Herbert Thorndike*, sometime Fellow of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, Proctor of that University *Anno* 1638, and Rector of *Barley* in *Hertfordshire*, 1642, elected Master of *Sidney College* on the Death of Dr. *Ward*, 1643, but kept out of it by the Oppression of the Times. After the Restoration he was made Prebendary of *Westminster*, September 5, 1661, resigned his Living of *Barley* the Year following, and died 1672. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 160.

^h Mr. *Timothy Thirscrofs*, I suppose the same that had been Fellow of *Magdalen College* in *Cambridge*, Prebendary of *York*, and Archdeacon of *Cleveland*, which last mentioned Preferment he resigned *Anno* 1638. In some Extracts of Dr. *Worthington's* Letters communicated to me by his Son Mr. *John Worthington*, my very good Friend, I find Mr. *Thirscrofs* (as the Dr. writes his Name) mentioned as a Person of great Piety and Devotion, a mortified Man, of a strict Life, and of great Charity, and in the Year 1660, living at *Westminster*. In a Letter of the Year 1670 the Dr. styles him Dr. *Thirscrofs*, then it seems one of the Fellows of *Eton*, and intimates that he had formerly had something at the *Charter-House*, and at *York*. He is probably the same Dr. *Timothy Thirscrofs*, as Mr. *Wood* and Dr. *Walker* write his Name, mentioned to have died in *London*, *Anno* 1671. See *Wood Fast. Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 843*. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 84.

with no Stench of Breath, which before was a most certain Indication of the Blood's being in a Ferment: Whence there was room to conjecture, that the Inclosures of the Vessels, which convey the vital Juice round the Body, were thrown open, not by an Ebullition of the Blood, but rather by a Dissolution of the Frame of Nature. But though at *London* there were not wanting good Men, and hearty good Friends of the Doctor's, who willingly supplied his Office both of Dean and Prolocutor: Yet he would long before that have resign'd both those Places to such as had better Health to discharge them, if he had not been hinder'd more by the Commands of the Bishops, who were very kind and indulgent to him in his Illness, than by the Persuasions of others: For he had fix'd his Eyes on the Parish of *Therfield* alone, greatly desiring to enjoy only that Retirement, at Liberty from all publick Business. For this Reason he would not let out any part of that Parsonage to farm, but kept it all in his own Hands, and had the Corn laid up in his Barns, though as it happen'd not without great Loss; but resolving to lead a private Life free from the Noise of
the

the Publick, he was willing the Product of his Living should be ready for the use of his Family.

But though his House at *Therfield* wanted no Preparations either of necessary Provision, or of convenient Furniture for his Reception, yet he was never permitted to enjoy it; but soon after departed to an infinitely more pleasant Retirement from those Labours and Afflictions, which with so much Courage and Constancy he had endur'd for Christ's most holy Spouse: Not refreshing now and then (as he had hitherto done) his emaciated Body in rural Gardens and Bowers alternatively flourishing and fading; but eternally delighting and satiating his Soul with pure and unmix'd Participations of an abundantly more solid Joy: For being upon some extraordinary Occasion return'd to *London*, but little recover'd from his late Fit, he was seiz'd, not with his usual Efflux of Blood, but with a violent Pain in the Side, which so decayed and hourly wasted his Strength, that unable to get back to *Chiswick*, in three Days he gave up the Ghost. These three Days he dedicated to God alone, and the Exercise of private Devotion; and to assist

him in that holy Office, he sent for that most sincere Friend and most learned Divine, the very Reverend Dr. *Peter*^h *Gunning*, afterwards Bishop successively of *Chichester* and of *Ely*, whom he had always enjoy'd as the inseparable Companion and Partaker of what he had both done and suffered for the afflicted Church in the most difficult Times. Having receiv'd the sacred *Viaticum* from this excellent Man, he put off his mortal Body, and left the Earth on the 22^d of *October*, 1664, after he had struggled almost two Years with his grievous Distemper. Upon Inspection all his Entrails appear'd to be decayed, particularly his Liver and his Lungs, and yet not so much vitiated, but that he might have lived longer, if the Mass of Blood had not by continual Evacuations been much the greatest part of it exhausted. Many good and great Men came of their own accord from all Parts to celebrate his Funeral, where that venerable Prelate Dr. *Henchman*ⁱ Bishop

^h See above, p. 39.

ⁱ Dr. *Humphrey Henchman*, Son of *Thomas Henchman* of *London* Skinner, of an ancient Family in *Northamptonshire*, had been

shop of *London* was pleased to read the Service over his dear departed Friend, and Dr. *Gunning*^k preach'd his Funeral Sermon. His

been Fellow of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, Precentor, Canon Resident, and Prebendary of *Salisbury*, was very instrumental in forwarding his Majesty's Escape into *France* after *Worcester* Fight, much esteem'd by that Prince, who upon the Restoration advanced him to the See of *Salisbury*, October 4, 1660. and thence translated him to this of *London*, September 15, 1663, and made him Lord Almoner. He died October 1675, was interr'd in the Parish Church of *Fulham*, and left seven hundred sixty seven Pounds to St. *Paul's*. *Wood Fast. Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 829.* Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 62.*

^k Dr. *Gunning's* Text upon this Occasion was *Philip. i. 21, 22, 23, 24.* For to me to live is Christ, and to die is Gain: But if I live in the Flesh, this is the Fruit of my Labour: Yet what I shall chuse, I wot not: For I am in a Streight betwixt two, having a Desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better: Nevertheless to abide in the Flesh is more needful to me. This Information, as well as many others, I owe to my learned good Friend Mr. *John Worthington*, A. M. one of the deprived Fellows of *St. Peter's* College in *Cambridge*, who finds this Particular in a Letter of his Father's the Reverend Dr. *John Worthington*, sometime Master of *Jesus* College in the same University, who was present at the Funeral, which by the Date of that Letter appears to have been solemniz'd on the 27th of October 1664. Dr. *Worthington* was at that Time Preacher at *St. Benet Fink* in *London*; but had entered upon that Cure only in *June* before, for the Rectory of that Church being then held by Lease from the College of *Windsor* by one of the Canons or Prebendaries of that College, and Dr. *Worthington* having an Offer of the Lease, he was not willing at that Time to accept it, chusing rather to have the Place *pro tempore* from the said Prebendary, then immediately from the College, and accordingly he entered upon it in *June* 1664, whereas Mr. *Wood* (*Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 753.*) makes him to have been Rector of *St. Benet Fink*, in the Times of Usurpation, a Mistake as gross, as that other which accompanies it, viz. that the Dr. was then esteem'd by all a Presbyterian: He should have said an Arminian, a Name

His Epitaph was composed by Mr. *Samuel*

wherewith the most Orthodox Clergy of the Church of *England* were branded at that Time; and Dr. *Worthington* among the rest, as his Son has been assured by a Doctor of Divinity, that was a Student in *Cambridge* at the same Time. He had been bred up in that Church from his Infancy, and received her Orders both of Deacon and Priest in the most discouraging Times, and when it was accounted Criminal, viz. *Anno 1646*. This appears from his Letters of Orders now in his Son's Hands, and his Testimonial from *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, of which he was then Fellow, subscribed by several of the Fellows, and among the rest by Mr. *Sancroft*, then his immediate Junior in that Society, and afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*: For those two, and some few others in that University, by the Connivance of those who tendered the Covenant, kept their Fellowships, though they never took it. He was indeed Master of *Jesus College* some Years before the Restoration; but as he was not the Intruder upon Dr. *Sterne*, the rightful Master, who had been ejected many Years before; so it was at the Request of the Fellows of the College, that he accepted the Mastership against his own Inclination, which (as appears from several of his Letters to Dr. *Sterne* and others) was to a more private and retired Life, during Times he was no Friend to, as, he says, was well known to some, and instances particularly in Dr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Thurstcroft*; and might have added Bishop *Fuxon* and Archbishop *Sheldon*, who were his great Friends. That was the Reason, no doubt, that he was never entrusted, by those then at the Helm, as he observes, with any of their Ordinances or Commissions, passing, even in the Mastership, a retired, and, he hoped, a good Life; his Words are, *benè latui*, and I hope, *benè vixi*, studying to promote ingenuous Learning, Piety, Peace, Candor, and Moderation, insomuch that, as he tells Dr. *Sterne*, that when he took his Place, he would more willingly have left it to him: so that Doctor told him, he was glad the College at last fell into his Hands. From several other of his Letters it also appears, that he preached at *St. Benet Fink* all the Plague Time, and could not be persuaded to remove from that Danger, and leave the Parish destitute, though he preached there only *pro tempore*, and the Place was another's. Instead therefore of going to *St. Alban's*,

*muel*¹ *Howlet* Fellow of *St. John's* College, a Person of Learning and Judgment much beyond his Age (for he was not yet twenty) and

ban's, as his Friends there pressed him by Letters, with an Offer of providing Lodgings for him; when Houses were very dear near *London*, he took one for his Family at *Hackney*, and went weekly to *London* himself. From *February* 18, 1665, till the Fire of *London* he preached also the Lecture at *St. Benet Fink*, the former Lecturer being dead. Soon after the Fire, *Dr. Henry More* of *Christ College* in *Cambridge*, presented him to the Rectory of *Ingoldsby*, a good Living near *Grantham* in *Lincolnshire*, and *Archbishop Sheldon* procured him one of the Prebends of *Lincoln* soon after. From *Ingoldsby* he removed to *Hackney*, being chosen Lecturer there with a Subscription commencing from *Lady-Day* 1670, and the Church of *St. Benet Fink* being then rebuilding, he thought fit to sue to the Chapter of *Windsor* to have that Lease renewed to him on the Surrendry of it by one of the Canons, and was so effectually recommended by *Archbishop Sheldon* to the Dean of *Windsor*, *Dr. Ryves*, on that Behalf, that his Suit was granted; but some Difficulties arising about the Form of the Lease, with Regard to the Parsonage House decreed to be rebuilt, e'er it could be drawn he fell ill, and died at *Hackney* towards the end of *November*, 1671, and was interr'd in the Chancel there. At the end of his Volume of *Miscellanies*, published by his Son *Anno* 1704. there is an account of his Writings, and the Works of others published by him. I hope the Reader will forgive this Digression in Defence of so great and good a Man, especially by one who has received so many Obligations from his Son.

¹ In the College Register he is said to have been of *Baddow* in *Effex*, Son of the Reverend Mr. *Richard Howlet*, who was not improbably the worthy Dean of that Name mentioned in the *Preface* as the Author's Lady's first Husband, who being driven from his Deanery in *Ireland*, and turned out of all he had by the Rebels there, was forced for Safety of his Life to come, with his Wife and Children, into *England*, where *Archbishop Laud*, to whom the Dean's Wife was nearly related, preferred him to *Lachington*, a good Benefice in *Effex*, *April* 13, 1642, as the *Archbishop* himself gives account in the History

and who himself also was in a few Years ripe for Heaven, so accomplished in every kind of Learning and Virtue, that it is hard not to make an Excurſion in his Praise, even while I am writing another's Life.

[Though Dr. *Barwick* always approved of the Practice of those, eſpecially if they had not been married, who, whatever they could spare out of the Revenues of the Church from their own Maintenance, never ceaſed even in their Life Time to employ it almoſt all to pious Uſes; being Perſons to whom God, as to the Stewards of his Family, had entrusted the ſacred Dower for that Purpose, that they might diſpenſe his Portion to every one; yet it ſo happen'd, that he had ſtill left, to be diſpos'd of by his laſt Will, no ſmall Part of what he had

of his Troubles and Trial, p. 194, 195. All the Difficulty is, that the College Register notes our *Samuel Howlet* to have been of *Baddow* in *Effex*, whereas if he were Dean *Howlet's* Son, he was probably born at *Lachingdon* in that County, which Dean *Howlet* was poſſeſſed of about two Years before his Birth: He was admitted Penſioner at the Age of ſixteen, under the Tuition of Mr. *Fohergil*, *January 7, 1659*, having been bred up in the *Charter-Houſe* School; and was choſen Fellow of the College, *May 5, 1664*, by a Royal Diſpenſation. In the Book of Commemoration of Benefactors, he is mentioned to have left the College eighty *Italian, French, and Spaniſh*, and ſome *German* Books.

saved out of his spiritual Preferments : For publick Business had prevented his taking Care of his own private Concerns. Nor had he almost ever been able to find a convenient Opportunity of shewing any Kindness to those, to whom he thought himself very much indebted : He therefore chose^m one to be the Executor of his Will, who, he conceiv'd, both knew his Mind, and was no Stranger to his Affairs, and would administer faithfully ; and to reward his Pains and Care in the Discharge of that Trust, he left him two hundred Pounds Sterling (for I always mean *English* Money) besides the Legacy left him with the rest of his nearest Relations. Among the lesser Gifts bestow'd upon his Friends, both of the Clergy and Laity, as a Mark of his antient, whether Veneration or Friendship, and Acknowledgment of Kindness received, he bequeathed the immortal Writings of the King's Father, bound in two Volumes,

^m This was his Brother Dr. *Peter Barwick* the Author of this Life, who modestly conceals his own Name here, yet is mentioned as his Brother's Executor, in the Receipt given him by the Master and Fellows of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, for the Legacy of three hundred Pounds left them by the Dean, as will be soon related.

as no improper Pledge of his Love and Gratitude, to his dearest Friend Mr. *John Otway*, who namely by his Advice and Persuasion (to use the Words of the Testator himself) declined no Labour nor Danger, that the King's Son might be restor'd to his Throne. But there were greater Marks of his Beneficence, which yet he esteem'd no other than Debts, wherewith he gratified others, who had most of them assisted either his Studies in his younger Years and streighter Circumstances, or his Labours and Endeavours for the publick Service in his riper Age, and more difficult and intricate State of Affairs, and some of them not without Danger to themselves. Besides he knew that most of these were in no plentiful Condition, and they were all very near of Kin to him: Yet he gave to none of these, on account either of his Relation, or of any Kindness receiv'd from him, not even to his own Brothers, above two hundred Pounds a Piece; lest he should seem to have had more Regard to private Affection, than to publick Piety. To all the Daughters of his Brothers, four in Number, he gave a hundred Pounds each, and to his Brother

William's

William's Son, his only Nephew, two hundred Pounds. He thought fit likewise, that all his Servants whatsoever, who had been helpful to him in his long Sickness, should partake liberally of his Bounty : Besides he appointed that his Library, which through his little Health and much Business happened to be not very well furnish'd, should all (but that one Book bequeath'd, as above-mentioned, to Mr. *Otway*) be given to Mr. *Samuel Howlet*, who had always had the greatest Respect for him. These for the most part were those Legacies, wherewith he thought proper to reward the Kindness and good Will of his Friends and Retainers, whether Relations or others. Besides which he left in ready Money forty Pounds to *Sedberg* School, and three hundred Pounds to *St. John's* College, in both which he had been bred up, and a hundred Pounds to *St. Paul's* Church, these three Sums to be employed in the Repairs of all those publick Buildings ⁿ, besides five hundred Pounds which he

ⁿ The College applied the Money to the Use of the new Building, or third Court, and the Dean's Benefaction is commemorated

he had given to *St. Paul's* before: He likewise procur'd an Estate of fifty Pounds a Year belonging to the Church, but formerly alienated to secular Uses, to be redeemed for about seven hundred Pounds paid down, with the greatest part of which Revenue he added to the poor Endowment of the Chapel of *Wether Slack* (his native Village, wherein he had been baptized) an Augmentation of thirty Pounds a Year; and the Fabrick being almost ruined with Age, and the Injuries of the Civil War, he rebuilt it from the Ground far more elegantly, and beautified it with all suitable Embellishments. The Surplusage of that Estate every Year, he order'd to be employed either in mending the Highways, or in instruct-

morated under that Head. Besides his three hundred Pounds *Dr. Gunning* then Bishop of *Chichester* is mentioned under the same Head to have given three hundred Pounds, *Dr. Thomas Turner* Dean of *Rochester* fifty Pounds, *Dr. Francis Turner* then Master of the College two hundred and fifty Pounds, in all nine hundred Pounds (besides five Pounds there also mentioned as given by *Dr. William Lacy* Rector of *Thornhill* in *Yorkshire*) to the same Use. When the Building was up *Anno 1671*, by a Limitation of Trust there is to be paid yearly, out of the Rents of the Chambers of the new Building, forty two Pounds, to the use of the Musick Master and six Choristers; which by what is said of *Dr. Barwick's* great Zeal for Church Musick Page 10, and 311. seems to answer his Intention very well, and his Benefaction amounts to fourteen Pounds *per Annum*.

ing the Sons of the poorer Sort, or in marrying their Daughters that wanted Portions, the better to preserve their Chastity : Thus for the most part he disposed of all he had, either in ready Money by him, or in such Debts as there would be no great Difficulty to get in. The Residue of his Estate, by Reason of the doubtful Credit of some of his Debtors, and the less doubtful Indigence of others, he could not reduce to any just Estimate. But whatever it should amount to, after his Funeral Expences and other Debts paid, he directed it to be disposed of, either for the Relief of poor Families, or to other pious Uses, at his Discretion, to whom he entrusted the Care and Execution of his Will. And indeed, this Surplusage of his Estate, by the Diligence and Faithfulness of some Persons that had a just Value for his Memory, and were well versed in the Practice of the Law, amounted beyond all Expectation to little less than a thousand Pounds : So faithfully did he discharge the publick Trust committed to him, and so prudently manage his private Fortune, that as he was perfectly free from all corrupt Affections, so he was certainly of all Men living the least
tenacious

tenacious or craving, much less griping.]

It was at a very seasonable Time, that it pleased God of his great Goodness to release this excellent Person from the great Load of publick Cares which lay upon him, and also to take him away beforehand from those Calamities of this famous City, which to that Time were unheard of, and followed in a very short Space after. For what more grievous in this Life could have happened to him (who though of a Spirit never broken in his own Misfortunes, yet was the soonest moved of any Man living with those of others) than within two Years after to have seen first the mighty Destruction of the People of *London* in all the Streets on every side seized with a most terrible Pestilence? Then immediately after, with what weeping Eyes would he have beheld almost all the Buildings of the City, whether sacred or civil, brought under the Dominion of unconquerable Flames, and within three Days reduced to Ashes? With what astonished Ears would he have received the direful Crashings of the most noble Fabricks falling down to the Ground on every Side? Particularly the vast Pile of *St. Paul's Cathedral*,

thedral, which had been the Subject of so many of his Prayers, and occasioned him so much Solicitude. Alas! After so immense a Devastation, how poor a Consolation must it have been to him, either that the Roof of that part of the Choir, under which he was accustomed so readily to pour out his Eucharistick Vows, had neither its Rafters burnt, nor its Lead melted, but remained untouch'd, though the Flames raged all about it; or that of that vast Fabrick, he might have seen one little Oratory (wherein he was used every Day more than once humbly on his bended Knees to implore God's Blessing upon himself in private, before he address'd himself to the publick Service) continue safe and unhurt in the midst of the Flames? Nor were there wanting Persons of great Worth, who had so high an Opinion of Dr. *Barwick's* Piety, as to make no doubt of imagining, that these little Remains of that vast Pile, were, by the sovereign Ruler of all Things, and of this Fire in particular, indulged in some Measure to his most sacred Ashes, and rescued unhurt from the midst of the Flames, as of old the Worshipers of the

true God were ° delivered from the fiery Furnace at *Babylon*; by these Instances to render it more evident, with how much greater Clemency he would have acted with the rest, if we had all worshiped him there with the same Piety and Affection, with which that holy and most zealously devout Man did. Alas! with how grievous Reproaches would he and the Religion of his Church have been pursued by the Fanatics, far less candid Interpreters of the Divine Judgments (though he was used daily, in that very Place, to offer up most ardent Prayers to God also in their Behalf) if these Remains, of how little Moment soever, which surviv'd that immense Ruin, had been either the only Parts of the Church, or the first, that had yielded to the Rage of the Flames? It is certain this Race of Men conceived no little Envy, that these small Parts of the Church, after that mighty Conflagration, like Brands without any humane Help plucked out of the Fire, had beyond all Men's Expectation continued un-touch'd: Yet I heartily pray, and firmly

° *Dan.* chap. iii.

hope (now that Dr. *Barwick* is succeeded in the Deanery by the very Reverend Dr. *William^p Sancroft*, a Person of the greatest Prudence,

^p Born at *Freshingfield* in *Suffolk* *January* 30, 1616, educated in *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, of which he soon became Fellow, and being connived at, with some few others, by those who tendered the Covenant, and not turned out for refusing it, was at last ejected for not taking the Engagement. After that, having spent some Years in *France* and *Italy* among the most learned Men in those Countries, and prosecuted his Studies there with indefatigable Industry, he returned about the Time of the Restoration, and his surprizing Knowledge in Classick Learning, both Greek and Latin, together with his great Piety recommending him to the Knowledge of all the Bishops at that Time, Bishop *Cosin*, to whom I suppose he had been known abroad, made choice of him not only for his Chaplain, but for his Friend and Confident; and it was, no doubt, by that Bishop's Favour, that on *March* 11, 1661, he was admitted to the ninth Prebend in the Church of *Durham*, and soon succeeded Dr. *Barwick* in the Rectory of *Houghton* in *le Spring* in that County, as he did afterwards in the Deanery of *St. Paul's*. *August* 14, 1662, he was chosen Master of his own College, and *February* 26, 1663 advanced to the Deanery of *York*, whence he was elected to that of *St. Paul's*, *November* 11, 1664, collated to the Prebend of *Oxgate* in that Church on the 2^d, and install'd Dean on the 9th of *December* following. *October* 7, 1668. on the King's Nomination he was admitted to the Archdeaconry of *Canterbury*, which he resigned in 1670. *January* 27, 1677, he was consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *June* 8, 1688, being with six other Bishops committed to the Tower, for petitioning King *James* to withdraw his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and being tried with them and acquitted on the 29th of that Month, he and four of those six, and four other Bishops were suspended from all their Preferments on the first of *August* 1690, and as many of them as survived, deprived on the first of *February* following, for not taking the new Oaths enjoined after the Revolution. On his Deprivation he returned to the Place of his Nativity, where he built him a little House, and lived in great Retirement,

Prudence, Learning, and Integrity) that these poor Remainers were preserv'd by the propitious Deity, as Pledges that the whole shall one Day rise again with more Splendor and Magnificence.

Amori & Æternitati.

Quisquis es Viator,

Oculum, animum huc adverte, lege, luge.

Jacent sub hoc marmore

Tenues exuviæ non tenuis animæ

Johannis Barwick S. S. Th. D.

Quem suum

Natalibus gloriatur Ager Westmoriensis,

Studiis Academia Cantabrigiensis,

Admissum socium in S. Johannis Collegium,

Indeque, quod magis honori est,

Pulsum à Rebellibus.

tirement, and dying *November 24, 1693*, was by his own Direction interr'd in that Parish Church-Yard. See a farther account of him in *Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy. P. 2. p. 144. Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 679. Preface to his three Sermons, published in 8^{vo}, 1703. See also a Letter out of Suffolk to a Friend in London, giving some Account of his last Sickness and Death, 4^{to}, London 1694. And a Vindication of him and the rest of the deprived Bishops from the Reflections of Mr. Marshal, &c. particularly with Regard to their refusing to publish an Abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's Invasion, their meeting at Guild-Hall, and their Endeavours for a Regency, 8^{vo}, London 1717.*

Qui nec Perduellium rabiem,
Nec Hæmoptysin, quamvis æque cruentam,
Et certius heu! tandem percussuram,

Quicquam moratus,
Pro Rege & Ecclesiâ summè ardua molitus,
Diro carcere perquam inhumana passus,
(Inconcusâ semper virtute)

Renatum denuò vidit & Diadema & Infulam,
Etiam suâ non parum obstetricante manu.

Qui deinde functus

Decanatu { Dunelmensi paucis mensibus,
Paulino verò triennio,

Parùm diu utroque, sed fidelitèr;

Tandem (post cœlibatum

Cum primis castè cum primis sanctè cultum)

Labe pulmonum, & curis publicis confectus,

Heic requiescit in Domino,

Atque inter sacras Ædis Paulinæ ruinas

Reponit suas,

(Utraque resurrecturas securus.)

Anno { Ætatis LIII.
Salutis MDCLXIV.

Cætera scire si velis,

Discede, & Disce

Ex illustri primævæ pietatis Exemplo,

Etiam sequiore hoc seculo,

Quid sit esse veri nominis

Christianum.

¶ Sacred

To Love, and to Generations to come.

Thou that passest by, whosoever thou art,
Bring hither thine Eyes, and Understanding also,
Intuitively both to look, and lament.

For within this marble Wardrobe are folded up
The thin worn Weeds

Of the valuable, substantial, and well accoutred Soul

Of John Barwick, Doctor of Divinity;

To whom Westmorland may well boast

To have given first Breath and Being;

Next Cambridge may boast

To have given him his first Admission,

And St. John's College there a Fellowship

In that Foundation;

From which Fellowship

(Which still makes more for his Honour)

He was unjustly ejected by a Pack of Parricides.

Who notwithstanding,

Regardless of the Rage of those bloody Times,

Or his own Blood-spitting Malady equally pernicious,

[And at length more certain alas! to destroy him;]

¶ After I had taken the Pains to put this Epitaph into English, finding it done to my Hand in Mr. Wood (*Fast, Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 732, 733.*) and concluding from his Account of it, that that very Translation was set up with the Latin over the Dean's Grave, I easily determined to print that, with the Addition of the last Line of this Page, I know not for what Reason there omitted.

*Boldly attempted and successfully managed
Matters of the greatest Difficulty and Danger,
In the behalf of the King and Church :*

And for that Cause

*Was shut up in a dire and loathsome Prison,
Where he suffered inhuman and barbarous Usage,
Yet with a constant and undaunted Spirit.*

And in the end he saw,

*By the Miracle as it were of a new Creation,
The Revival of both Crown and Mitre,
Himself playing the Man-Midwife's Part,
And vigorously assisting at the new Birth of both.*

Last of all,

*For his active Services, and passive Sufferings
He was dignified with the Deanery of Durham,*

Which he held a few Months,

And afterwards with that of St. Paul's,

Which he enjoyed three Years,

Tho' either of them too short a Season,

Yet discharged both with singular Care and Fidelity ;

Living and dying a Bachelor,

And strictly chaste and sanctimonious

Both in Soul and Body :

And being much debilitated

By a long and lingering Consumption,

Here he rests in the Lord,

And deposits his last Remains

*Among those ruinous ones of St. Paul's Church,
Being confident of the Resurrection
Both of the one and other.*

*He died in the 53^d Year of his Age,
And of our Lord 1664.*

*Reader, if thou desirest to know more
Of this Reverend Churchman,
Go Home, and learn*

*By the conspicuous Copy of his sincere Devotion,
What it is, to be a true Christian indeed.*





THE
 AUTHOR'S
 APPENDIX.



THE Person formerly Dr. *Barwick's* Pupil at *Cambridge*, whom in the Description of his Life above I have mentioned (as the Nature of the Work required) with no great Advantage to his Character was Dr. *Anthony^r Walker*: Yet I hitherto conceal'd his Name out of Re-

^r See above, p. 16.

spect to him, and in Regard of the old Acquaintance I have had with him for the Space of fifty Years; and I should have conceal'd it for the future, if he had not been of late too prodigal ^f of it himself.

After he had forsaken the more wholesome Instructions of Mr. *Barwick*, he got into the Family of Dr. *John^t Gauden*, to become a Votary to new Doctrines in Religion, which at that Time began to be more gainful, though unheard of in the Church of *England*, from the first Age of Christianity. Under this Instructor he learnt the Art of blurting out crude Sermons, and indigested Prayers, and in a short Time became so famous for his Knowledge in the new Religion, that he was thought worthy to be Chaplain to the Earl ^u of *Warwick*, recommended to that Office by *Gauden*, who had before been his Lordship's Chaplain himself. That unhappy Lord, seduc'd by the Delusions of such sort of Preach-

^f Having prefixed it, I suppose, to that Treatise, which occasioned this *Appendix*, and will be named by and by, though I never saw it.

^t See an Account of him in *Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 107, &c.*

^u See above, p. 18.

ers, was persuaded to take upon him the Employment of High Admiral to the Rebels, who under the Pretence of reforming the old Religion, were attempting to introduce a new one. Dr. *Gauden* seem'd at that Time to be a very eminent Preacher: But he seem'd so only to himself; to no others that were of sounder Judgment. He was extremely fond of popular Applause, which at that Time began to be dangerous to Religion: For after the Rebels had got the Government into their Hands, all the Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, and Dignitaries in the Cathedral Churches, and almost all the Parochial Clergy, especially such as had Revenues any Thing considerable, were turn'd out of their Preferments, and the Disturbers of the Church and Kingdom, though for the most part Men of no Sense, thrust into their Places. Yet Dr. *Gauden* continued fix'd and undisturb'd in his * rich Benefice, joining himself to the sworn Enemies of the Church and Crown, by their solemn League and Covenant. Notwithstanding which, after the Church was

* The Rectory and Deanery of *Bocking* in *Essex*. *Wood Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 208.

restor'd,

restor'd, he was not asham'd to sue for a Bishoprick; and he obtain'd it: For he was made Bishop of *Exeter* ^y; though he had before abjur'd the whole Episcopal Order, and was said to have openly advised King *Charles* the Second in a Letter (according to his manner sufficiently prolix) also to abjure the same in *Scotland*. But you will say, Dr. *Gauden* might have repented: He might indeed, but he would not; for he was always like himself, next Kin to a Presbyterian in a Bishoprick: But if he did not repent; yet he was griev'd a little before the Restoration, when he broke out into those ^z *Sighs* upon the Calamities of the Church, which he published at that Time; forgetting in the mean while, how much himself had formerly contributed to bring those Calamities upon the Church. By beating the Air with these Sighs and Sobblings, too late, but immoderately enough, he seem'd to be very much out of

^y Vacant since the Death of Bishop *Brownrigg*. Elected November 3, 1660.

^z Intituled *Ecclesia Anglicana suspiria, setting forth her former Constitution, compared with her present Condition, in four Books*, London 1659. fol. *Wood Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 209.

Breath, and almost spent: For as he was always most addicted to himself before all others; so now he could not but conjecture, that he and his Affairs were utterly ruin'd: For he saw, and that clearly enough, that his Fellow Conspirators (who some Years before had devour'd all the Deans and Chapters Lands and Estates, for which, as Things altogether foreign to him, he was not at all concern'd) were now at length immoderately gaping after whatever was left belonging to the Church, to wit, all the Tythes and other Revenues of all the Parochial Clergy, of whom he thought himself no contemptible part.

After the Death of that excellent Prelate Dr. *Brian* ^a *Duppa*, the Right Reverend Bishop

^a Or *D' Uphaugb*, Son (as Mr. *Wood* supposes) of Mr. *Jesfery Duppa*, Vicar of *Lewsham* in *Kent*, born at *Greenwich* in that County, *March 10, 1588*, bred up at the King's School at *Westminster*, thence elected Student of *Christ Church* in *May 1605*, and Fellow of *All-Souls* in *1612*. Then proceeding in Arts, and taking holy Orders he travelled beyond Seas, and in *1619* was unanimously chosen one of the Proctors of his University. In *1625*, being then Chaplain to the Prince Palatine, he took his Degrees in Divinity, and was next Year made Dean of *Christ Church*. He was Vice-Chancellor in the Years *1632* and *1633*, was made Chancellor of the Church of *Salisbury* in *1634*, and soon after became Tutor to the Prince, afterwards King *Charles* the Second. *May 19, 1638*, he was presented

shop of *Winchester*, he very greedily hunted after that rich Bishoprick, assisted by the Favour of some ^b Persons at Court, who manag'd the Affairs of the King and of the Church with too much Negligence, or too little Fidelity. For there were not wanting those, who voluntarily obtruded themselves to restore the Church with the same Dispositions, wherewith they had formerly destroy'd it. Dr. *Gauden*, to prove himself worthy of so great a Bishoprick, contriv'd this wonderful Artifice: He secretly whispered it into the Ears of some, and is said to have attempted without Witness or Credit to persuade the Royal Brothers, King

presented to the Rectory of *Petworth* in *Suffex*, which he seems to have held some Time in *Commendam* with the See of *Chichester*, to which he was advanced *June* the 12th following. In 1641 he was translated to *Salisbury*, whence through the Iniquity of the Times, he soon retired to *Oxford*, and continued with his Majesty to the Time of his Murther; after which he lived mostly at *Richmond* in *Surry*, in great Devotion and Solitude, till the Restoration; when upon *September* 24, 1660, he was translated to *Winchester*, and made Lord Almoner; and dying at *Richmond*, *March* 26, 1662, was interr'd in *Westminster Abbey*. See a farther Account of him and his bountiful Legacies to the Colleges of *Christ-Church* and *All-Souls*, the Churches of *Chichester*, *Salisbury*, and *Winchester*, his *Almshouse* at *Richmond* and Hospital at *Greenwich*, unless the same be meant by that different mention of them in both Places. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 176, 177, and 661.*

^b Probably the Earls of *Manchester* and *Anglesey*, for the Earl of *Warwick* had no Interest.

Charles

Charles and the Duke of *York*, that himself was the Author of that most celebrated Book intituled, Ἐικὼν Βασιλική, or the *Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*: and that he had put it out in the Royal Martyr's Name. Yet he did not invent this Fiction till about fifteen Years after the Death of King *Charles* the First, who wrote that golden Work, and till after that of all others, as he thought, who, especially in a Matter of so much Secrecy, could give any Evidence of the writing of it, particularly Bishop *Duppa*, who was thought by many to have been privy thereto: Yet sure there is no Man, but such as desire and resolve to be deceiv'd, that will give any Credit to *Gauden*, whatever he affirms or denies, who owns himself guilty of so daring an Imposture. He could not obtain the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; yet I know not by what ill Destiny he gain'd that of *Worcester*, which yet he did not long enjoy; for a little while after that false Apostate *Gauden*^d departed this Life, the un-

^c May 13, 1662, on the Translation of Bishop *Morley* to *Winchester*.

^d September 10, 1662.

happy Blemish and Reproach of the sacred Order, after it was happily restored. And how much that most vain Man was at last despis'd by King *Charles*, appear'd evidently from hence, that when ^c Archbishop *Sheldon* acquainted him, that Bishop *Gauden* was dead, his Majesty replied, that he made no doubt, but it would be easy to find a more worthy Person to fill his Place. When the King's Book was first published, it was acknowledged almost by every one, that the two first Chapters of it had been taken among the Royal Spoils at *Naseby* Fight. It was also as universally own'd, that that venerable Person the Reverend Mr. ^f*Symmonds*, who transmitted that

Book

^c My Author must mean Archbishop *Juxon*, who died not till *June 4*, 1663, almost nine Months after Bishop *Gauden*; nor was Bishop *Sheldon* translated to *Canterbury* till *August* the 31st following, which was almost three Months more, and near a Year after *Gauden's* Death, which must have been notified to the King long before; for Dr. *Earle* was elected Bishop of *Worcester* in his stead, *Nov. 1*, 1662, and consecrated *Nov. 30*. *Le Neve's Fast. Eccl. Angl. p. 9*, and 300.

^f Mr. *Edward Symmonds*, Rector of *Rayne* in *Essex*. He was born at *Cottered* in *Hertfordshire*, and educated at *Peter-House* in *Cambridge*: Admitted to that Living *December 31*, 1630, and dispossessed thereof by the Rebels, *March 3*, 1642. See his own short Account of his Sufferings prefixt to the *Loyal Subject's Belief* published by him, *Anno 1643*. Dr. *Hollingsworth* in his *Dedication of the Vindication of the Royal Martyr, &c.* published

Book to Mr. *Richard Royston* to be published under the King's Name, had received the same from his Majesty: Which Thing also he himself abundantly certified, as far as was practicable by Reason of the Malice of the most inveterate Enemies, whereby he was not a little oppress'd; for he was a Man of Primitive Piety, who for his Fidelity to the King, and Steadfastness to the Church, had suffered the Loss of all; and in his Love and Regard to Christian Simplicity, was the very Reverse to Bishop *Gauden*: Yet in his Neighbourhood in *Essex*, the good Man enjoyed a Living as long as the Rebels would give him leave. But at length before the Restoration he sunk under their Hatred, and [§] finished an unblemished Life: Indeed no Man seem'd fitter to be trusted with a Matter of that Importance: For he was very well known; to the King, as well for his great Integrity

published by Mr. *Symmonds* Anno 1648, and reprinted by the Doctor Anno 1693, says, he was certainly a Man of as great Courage and Piety (as he was of Learning and Wisdom) as that Age and those Times almost did afford. Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 358, to 361.

[§] About the Year 1659, *Fuller's Worthies in Hertfordshire* cited by Dr. *Walker*, *ibid*.

and Holiness of Life, as besides for that he had written and published an Apology to wipe off those Calumnies, wherewith the best of Kings was most unworthily loaded by his sworn Enemies.

[Add to all this, that there is scarce any of our Friends, who hath had the least Familiarity or Acquaintance with Mr. *Royston*, but has often heard him say ^h, that in the Time of the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight* between the King and the Parliament, he receiv'd a Message from his Majesty, ordering him to have all Things in readiness requisite for publishing some Papers, which his Majesty would shortly transmit to him: And Mr. *Royston* added, that from that Time he never receiv'd from the King any Papers whatsoever, except those only, which were sent him by Mr. *Symmonds*, and had the Royal ⁱ Title prefixt to them.]

But

^h See *Dugd. Short View*, ch. 32. p. 381. Dr. *Perrinchief's* Life of *Charles* the First, p. 95.

ⁱ See his Majesty's undoubted Right to this Divine Book farther asserted, and all the Objections thereto irrefragably answered in the following Treatises, set down in the Order wherein they were published.

The Princely Pellican, or Royal Resolves presented in sundry choice Observations extracted from his Majesty's Divine Meditations,

But what Need was there, O most vain *Gauden* (for I now appeal to you in the other World) that the most learned, as well
as

tations, with satisfactory Reasons to the whole Kingdom, that his sacred Majesty was the only Author of them, 4^{to}, 1649.

Dr. *Hollingworth's* Defence of King *Charles* the First's Holy and Divine Book called 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, against the rude and undutiful Assaults of the late Dr. *Walker* of *Essex*, proving by living and unquestionable Evidences the aforelaid Book to be that Royal Martyr's, and not Dr. *Gauden's*, 4^{to}, 1692.

His farther Defence of the King's holy Book, &c. which I have not seen, but find so much of the Title of it, as also, that Mr. *Thomas Long*, before his Book against *Walker*, had written something on the King's side of this Controversy. I find both these Particulars in the Title of a Piece written against them both, called the *Plain Dealer*, an Essay, wherein are some Remarks upon Mr. *Thomas Long*, but more particularly upon Dr. *Hollingworth's* Book, where the Character of King *Charles* the First is inserted from the Declaration of Mr. *Alexander Henderson*: Which Book he calls a farther Defence of the King's holy Book, &c. 4^{to}, 1692.

Dr. *Walker's* true, modest, and faithful Account of the Author of 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, strictly examined and demonstrated to be false, impudent, and deceitful, in two Parts: The first disproving it to be Dr. *Gauden's*, the second proving it to be King *Charles* the First's, by *Thomas Long*, B. D. and Prebendary of St. *Peter's Exon*. 4^{to}, 1693.

A Vindication of King *Charles* the Martyr, proving that his Majesty was the Author of 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, against a Memorandum of the Earl of *Anglesey*, and against the Exceptions of Dr. *Walker*, &c. 8^{vo}, 1697.

A Defence of the Vindication justifying his Majesty's Title to 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, in answer to a late Pamphlet intituled *Amyntor*, by the Author of the Vindication, 4^{to}, 1699.

Several Evidences which have not yet appeared in the Controversy concerning the Author of 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, produced in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. *Wagstaffe*. By *J. Y.* of *Plymouth*, 4^{to}, 1703.

as the best of Kings, should borrow your Pen? He who, both in his Conferences and Writings, had so often triumph'd over the most eminent Divines of your Confederates, and far better Disputants than you: Who utterly silenced *Henderson* himself, the great Champion of the *Scotch* Presbytery, in a Theological Dispute he had with him at *Newcastle*, where the King was shut up from all his Friends, and surrounded with an Army of Enemies; infomuch that *Henderson* died soon after^k, unable (as was reported) to survive the Disgrace he had gotten among his own Countrymen, by being so miserably baffled in this Conflict. From

A Case of present Concernment in a Letter to a Member of the House of Commons.

The impudent Babler baffled.— 1705.

A Vindication of King *Charles* the Martyr, proving that his Majesty was the Author of 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, against a Memorandum said to be written by the Earl of *Anglesey*, and against the Exceptions of Dr. *Walker* and others; to which is added a Preface, wherein the bold and insolent Assertions published in a Passage of Mr. *Bayle's* Dictionary, relating to the present Controversy, are examined and confuted. The third Edition with large Additions, and an *Appendix* of King *Charles* the First's Letters in his Confinement, 4^{to}, 1711.

* My Lord *Clarendon* says, he was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep Sense of the Mischief he had himself been the Author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest Friends and Confidants, and died of Grief and Heart-broken, within a very short Time after he departed from his Majesty, *Hist. Vol. 3. p. 31.*

what

what has been publish'd it abundantly appears, how little his Majesty was press'd with the Weight of their Divines Argument: Would to God he could as easily have blown away the Weight of those Bullets, the Force whereof he had more than once in Battel sustain'd, *Gauden*, against your Confederates! But to return from them to you. What, I beseech you, *Gauden*, is there ever found in your Writings, but what is poor and flat? but mere Circumlocutions of Words cover'd with a certain thin Varnish, which at first reading immediately vanishes and evaporates into Smoke? What, I pray you, in the King's, but solid, nervous, close, and eloquent? And in this Book, what is there not manifestly Divine, and favouring of a Soul, not like yours, always groveling upon the Earth, and gaping after Riches, but far more sublime, and earnestly aspiring to a Crown of Martyrdom, which it was soon to obtain? Indeed that any Mortal besides the Royal Martyr wrote these Divine Dictates of a heavenly Soul, is what no Man ever seriously suspected; not even *Milton*¹,
that

¹ Who wrote the first Book against it, with the following
B b 3
Title.

that other declared Enemy (like *Gauden*) to this Book of the King, yet herein much unlike him, in that he was always more eloquent, and shew'd far more Oratory in the worst Cause, than ever *Gauden* did in the best. But if that most insolent Artificer of Frauds and Subtleties had a mind

Title, *Ἐικονοκλάσης*, in Answer to a Book intituled, *Ἐικὼν Βασιλική*, the Portraiture of his sacred Majesty King *Charles* the First, in his Solitudes and Sufferings; first printed in 4^{to}, 1649, with only the two initial Letters of the Author's Name, *J. M.* but reprinted in 8^{vo} with his Name at length, just after the Revolution; the Publisher best knows with what Intent. However that profligate Author, amongst all the Scandal wherewith he asperses the blessed Martyr, had not the Impudence to rob him of the Honour of writing that Divine Book, but both in his Preface, and through his whole pretended Answer to it, takes it for granted to have been composed by his Majesty. This Piece was answered in 1651, by a Book intituled, *Ἐικὼν ἄκλαστος*, the Image unbroken, a Perspective of the Impudence, Falshood, Vanity, and Prophaneness, published in a Libel intituled, *Ἐικονοκλάσης*, &c. said to be written (says Mr. *Wood Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 196.) by Mr. *Henry Feanes*, one that had closed with the Presbyterians in 1641, had intruded upon Dr. *Walter Raleigh's* Living when he was thrown out, and kept a Seminary there during the Usurpation, contrary to his Oath; and yet was prevailed upon by the Force of Truth to chastise that impious Libel against the best of Kings. On the reprinting of *Milton's* *Ἐικονοκλάσης*, there was likewise published against it a Sheet intituled, Our modern *Demagogue's* Modesty and Honesty in its true Light, being a Vindication of the Royal Martyr's sacred Memory, from the antiquated Calumnies and Fictions of the Villain *Milton*, as they are lately reviv'd with Additions by some bellowing Relicts of the Bulls of *Basan*. In a Letter to a Friend. The Motto, *Tit. i. 12.*

to produce any Thing in publick, confirm'd by no good Man's Testimony, whereby to transfer to his own private Substance or Possession what belonged to any other Man whatever, even of his fellow Subjects, that had always been accounted the rightful Possessor thereof; whatever Pretence of this Nature is ever made to another's Damage, ought to be rejected with a certain pious Indignation of all Men, not only as of no manner of Force, but as highly impious. Yet perhaps it may have been lawful for *Gauden*, though for none else (at least in order to get a Bishoprick, and purchase the best Revenues of the Church) to dare with a sacrilegious Hand to do that against those most sacred Remains of the Royal Martyr, (apparently his Majesty's by so many Tokens and by all sorts of Right) which it would have been accounted a Wickedness to be detested of all Men, to attempt against the Property of any of his fellow Subjects.

But Dr. *Walker*, when some Years above the Age of seventy, and forty four Years after the King's Book was publish'd, takes upon himself to revive this most impudent Fiction of *Gauden's*; and immediately after

he had published a ridiculous ^m Pièce of his own and his Wife's conjugal Life, full of little trifling Stories, whereby he expos'd himself to all Men's Scorn and Derision; he takes his Pen in Hand again, to employ it upon this Fiction; but with a Success equally unfortunate: For he ought to have remember'd, that Faithfulness is at least of some Moment in writing History, as well as in contesting a Matter of Right. But *Dr. Walker*, as if Faith and Veracity were of no Importance, draws up this ⁿ Romance of his without appealing to the Faith of any one whatever; as if the least Regard would be had to his Faith alone (which he learnt formerly from his Preceptor *Gauden*, a Professor of Subtlety and Deceit, as well as of new Divinity) especially in the Royal Martyr's Cause, against whose most sacred Majesty they were both accounted sworn Ene-

^m Intituled the holy Life of Mrs. *Elizabeth Walker*, late Wife of *A. W. D. D.* &c. giving a modest and short Account of her exemplary Piety and Charity, &c. London 1680, 8^o, with some useful Papers and Letters written by her on several Occasions. *Wood Fast. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 797.*

ⁿ Intituled, a true, modest, and faithful Account of the Author of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, or, the Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings, with an Answer to all Objections made by *Dr. Hollingworth*, and others, in Defence of the said Book.

mies. Yet *Walker* found a very convenient Time to vent the Malice he had harboured in his envenom'd Breast against that most holy Martyr, namely, when all the Calumnies of old most undeservedly thrown upon his Majesty, and long since forgotten, were again call'd back from Hell; and when *Ludlow*, the only Survivor of the Regicides,

◦ Son of Sir *Henry Ludlow* of *Mayden Bradley* in *Wiltshire*, who served for that County in the Parliament which met *November 3, 1640*; and as the Father was a great Enemy to the King, so the Son join'd with the Presbyterians at the breaking out of the Rebellion, and became a Colonel, Governor of *Wardour* Castle in his own County, a chief Officer in the Parliament Army, and at length one of the Regicide Judges. After the King's Murther he was made Lieutenant General of the Parliament Army in *Ireland*, and Lord-Deputy for a Time, on the Death of *Ireton*. In *Oliver's* Time he was a Major-General, a grand Fanatick, and a zealous Favourer of all that were Anti-monarchical; but upon a Foresight of the King's Restoration he fled into *Switzerland*, was at *Lausanne* with *Goff, Whaley*, and *Farre*, when *Lisle* was killed there in *August 1664*, and soon after with his Wife retired to *Zurich*.

With Regard to his coming over into *England* just after the Revolution, *Mr. Wood*, from whom I have the former Account of him, says, that by Letters dated *London September 19, 1689*, he was inform'd that *Ludlow*, who had lived several Years in *Switzerland*, was daily expected at *Westminster*, with four Deputies from the Cantons, to make an Offer to King *William*, to raise Men in that Country for his Service. He adds, that he was sure *Ludlow* was then in *London*, and that it was so notorious, that about the 7th of *November* following, Sir *Edward Seymour* presented an Address to his Majesty from the House of Commons, that he would be pleased to put out a Proclamation for the apprehending of him, on which he returned to *Switzerland* in

cides, was not afraid to return into *England*, sent for, as was reported by his Friends, one or two of them Men of no vulgar Note.

in the seventy fourth Year of his Age. *Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 884.* The Account we have of this Matter in the *Preface* to that Gentleman's own *Memoirs*, p. 7. is this : That when the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, *Londonderry* only excepted, was unhappily fallen into the Hands of the *Irish* Papists, and the Lieutenant General (he means *Ludlow*) was sent for as a fit Person to be employed to recover it from them : When the *British* Refugees (meaning the other outlawed Rebels) were glad to hear him named for that Service, and he, in an Extasy to serve his Country any where, was arrived in *England* ; the Reception he found there was such, as ought rather to be forgotten, than transmitted to Posterity with any Remarks upon that Conjunction. Thus, says his Prefacer, being denied the Honour of dying for his Country, he returned to the more hospitable Place from whence he came. Hospitable indeed in the same Sense, that another Author, speaking also of *Ludlow*, but with less Friendship for Rebels and Regicides, calls the *Dutch* our dear, dear, very dear Friends, for giving Protection to them. *Ludlow*, says he, who fled from Justice, and several other old Army Officers, shelter'd themselves there, meaning in *Holland* : There the Villains were protected, and the Traytors found a secure *Asylum*. Indeed, adds he, it was wonderful kind for a neighbouring Nation to protect proscribed Rebels from Justice, nay and assist them in their Return to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, that had made them *high and mighty* from poor and miserable. Twice, says he, did that notorious Rebel *Ludlow* escape the Sword of Justice by flying to *Holland* ; yet see the incomparable Impudence of that Traytor : He braved Justice to her Face, and a third Time ventured to come over, not sneakingly and in Disguise, but openly and barefaced, at the Prince of *Orange's* Invasion in 1688. So far from fearing the Punishment which his Crimes deserved, and for which he stood outlawed, that presuming upon his impious Services, he expected a Reward from them. That he came at the Time of that Invasion, as it agrees neither with *Dr. Barwick's* Account, nor with that of *Mr. Wood* now mentioned ; so it is most probably a Mistake,

Note. But *Walker* rather chose, that *Gauden* his Patron, and a grave Divine (as he desir'd to be accounted) should be branded with the Mark of a Forger and Impostor, than miss any Occasion of defiling the sacred Ashes of the Royal Martyr.

To the Life of Dr. *John Barwick*, which I wrote twenty Years ago, if it may conveniently be done, I desire this *Appendix* may be added, which that it was dictated by me, though by Reason of the Blindness of my Eyes written by a Friend, I attest by subscribing my Name in the best manner I am able.

P. BARWICK.

a Mistake. Yet this Author asserts it very roundly; for he proceeds thus: This very Person (speaking still of *Ludlow*) came over with the Prince of *Orange*, and was no small Instrument in the Revolution; for which Service he had receiv'd a Reward, had not the Odioufness of his former Character rendered him so loathsome to the Court, that several Persons of Quality could not bear him, who remonstrating to that Prince the Scandal of entertaining a proscribed Rebel, and one of his Grandfather's Judges, he generously and like a pious Grandson issued forth a Proclamation for apprehending him some Weeks after he had made his Escape. *A Taste of the Saints Submission, Loyalty, and Moderation before and since the Restoration of King Charles the Second*, P. 7.



A P P E N D I X

O F

Letters and other Papers, &c.



N^o. I.

Letters between King *Charles* the First under his Confinement in the Isle of *Wight*, and Mr. (afterwards Sir *Henry*) *Firebrace*.

I.

D.



INCE I see that *A.* cannot stay, you must take the more Care to settle the Intelligence between my Friends and me at *London*; to which end, I hope, you have shewn the Packet to *F.* I have written

*

written

written to *W.* but it is only to refer him to you: Wherefore let him know, that the Narrowness of the Window was the only Impediment of my Escape, and therefore that some Instrument must be had to remove the Bar, which I believe is not hard to get; for I have seen many, and so portable, that a Man might put them in his Pocket, and yet of Force sufficient to do more than this comes to: I think it is called the endless Screw, or the great Force. Likewise acquaint him with those other Ways, that were in Discourse among us; desiring him upon the whole Matter (as well upon his own as other Men's Inventions) to give his Judgment, which is the most probable Way to effect this Business.

I shall dispatch all my Letters this Night, to wit, four: That with the *French* Superscription, is for my Wife, and you are only to deliver it into *Withering's* Office before *Thursday* at Night, as a Merchant's Letter for *France*: That which is directed to Mr. *John Pile* is for *W.* That all in Cyphers is for Dr. *Fraiser*; and the fourth is for *Loe* the Merchant, to whom also you must give those Things that I have signed, and tell him, that he must not make use of them,
but

but according to such Directions, as he will find in my Letter to him.

Except you have more than I, there is no need of altering more Letters than I have done: If you can, let me speak with you this Night at the Chink.

ƒ.

You see that I am better than my Word; but however I desire to speak with you; if it were but to know, whether or not you understand all my Directions.

2.

D.

I shall not fail to make *L.* finish the Bar; and you shall have a full Dispatch from to morrow: I have the *Aqua Fortis*, but can find no Stockings; wherefore do not forget to give me them to morrow.

ƒ.

3.

Mr. Firebrace's Letter to the King.

S I R,

THE Duke of *York* is gone away, whether it is not known: But he's certainly

tainly gone, on *Friday* Night last: I hope you will not be long after him. This Night I have thought of a new Project, which, by the Grace of God, will effect your Business. 'Tis this: In the Back-Stairs Window are two Casements, in each two Bars; one of the Bars in that next the Door shall be cut, which will give you Way enough to go out. I am certain the Top of the Hill comes within a Yard of the Casement; so that you may easily step out, and creep close to the Wall, till you come to a hollow Place (which you may observe as you walk to morrow) where with Ease you may go down, and so over the Out-works. If you like this Way, it shall be carried on thus. *Hen. C.* shall cut the Bar, and do up the Gap with Wax or Clay, so that it cannot be perceiv'd: I have already made it loose at the Top; so that when you intend your Business, you shall only pull it, and it will come forth. You must sup late, and come up so soon as you have sup'd. Put off your Geo. and on your grey Stockings, and upon Notice to be given you by *H. C.* come into the Back-Stairs, and so step out. We shall meet you, and conduct you to your Horses, and from thence to the Boat. I have told
him

him of it, and he'll undertake it; therefore pray leave some of your Files, that he may try to morrow, when you are at Bowles. If you think to try this Way, I believe it not necessary to tell any else of it besides *Z.*

You keep Intelligence with Somebody that betrays you; for there is a Letter of your's sent to the Governor from *Derby-House* (in Characters) wherein you express in Words at length, that though they do remove *Titus, Dowcett, and Firebrace*, yet you despair not of your Business, or to that Purpose. Therefore pray think to whom you writ such a Letter, and be careful: God knows what Hurt this may do. I shall have a Note to you from *W.* to morrow.

D.

If you like this Way return the Note with your Sense.

The King's Answer at the bottom.

Let none know of this Way, but only *Z.* only we must be sure that Horses be ready on the other side of the Water.

f.

D. I do

4.

D.

I Do extremely well like of your newest Way ; for if you can make me room enough to go out at the Window you mention, I warrant you (by the Grace of God) that I shall get down the Hill, and over the Works well enough. But I pray, for my Satisfaction, give me the Breadth of it; when one Bar will be taken away, that I may be sure not to stick : And great Care must be had, that the filing be not discovered ; which if you do, I shall not much fear any Thing else. I have begun my Bar, and make no doubt to effect it, without being perceiv'd; but for the Time, I cannot yet tell. As for that suppos'd Letter of mine; which has been sent to the Governor, there can be no such : For first I never suspected that *W. D.* nor *F.* should be sent away before *Sunday* was Sevensnight, since when I made but one Dispatch, wherein I remember, I wrote two Letters in Cyphers, in one of which I made no mention at all of any one of you ; and in the other, which was to my Wife, if I said any Thing either of *W.* or *D.* (for I am sure I said nothing of *F.*)

it was in Cypher, and not to that Purpose as you are told. But it is possible that the Rogue *Witherings* hath discover'd how I superscribe to my Wife, and hath sent one of them to the Committee: Wherefore I desire you to enquire, to see if I have not guess'd right, and not to send that Letter you have of mine for my Wife to the Post-House, but either to Dr. *Fraiser*, or my Lady *Carlisle*, with a Caution not to trust the Post-Masters. For the D. of *York's* Journey, seriously I know nothing of it, but what you have told me; but I pray God send him a happy Journey.

7.

If you can cut the Bar unperceiv'd, questionless this last Way is the best; and therefore I have return'd your Paper and some Files; but I keep some for my Bar: Give me an Answer to this by Night if you can.

5.

23. *April.*

D.

I Pray, what's the Reason that I had nothing this Night from *W.* nor you? For
I would

I would be glad to know, in what Order he hath left Business; at least if he have forgotten, I desire you to remember to let me know, what Directions are left with *Q. F.* and *Z.* that I may govern my self accordingly.

I hope this Day at Dinner you understood my Looks; for the Soldier I told you of, whose Looks I like, was then there in a white Night Cap, and, as I thought, you took Notice of him. To morrow I will begin to try the Bar, and at Night I will give you some Account of it. In the mean Time I hope to find something from you to morrow Morning, when I come in from walking, in answer to this Note.

J.

6.

D.

I Desire you first to remember to leave perfect Instructions with *L.* and *F.* how to send my Letters to *London*, and to receive Answers from thence without Suspicion; to this end I think it best, that the outward Covers of all your Dispatches should be directed to some honest Townsman of *New-*

port, that may be trusted with so much as the Conveyance of Letters, and he to advertise hither, when he has any Letters; and by this Means our Packets will never run the Hazard of falling into the Governor's Fingers. Besides, when you send any Express, agree of some Token either by Word or Writing, whereby to know him from a Knave.

Of my Letters to carry to *London* (with these that I give you this Day) you will have one to my Wife, one to my Lady *Carlisle*, one to *W. L.* one to *A.* two to *N.* and two to *O.* For the first you shall do well to ask Advice, how it may be safely sent over to *France*, and inquire well, whether or not, *Witherings* hath played the Knave. Those to *O.* concern your self; wherefore none else must deliver 'em. I wou'd also have your self the Deliverer of those to *N.* because they are of some Concernment, and demand an Answer, especially to the last. For the rest, so that the Parties have them, it matters not much by whom; yet it were not amiss, if your self gave them to my Lady *Carlisle*.

Now as to my main Business; be careful to make *L.* rightly to understand the Design

sign of the Back-Stairs Window, as likewise that other of my Window, that I may leave or chuse, as I see Occasion. Also you must remember *W.* to lay Horses on the other side the Water, and let me know when and where; nor let that be long a doing; for it were a woful Thing, to lose an Opportunity here, for want of Preparation there. As for those other Designs you told me of, I leave those to your managing, only promising you exact Secrecy therein, and expecting an Account from you. So much for the Affirmative: now for the Negative. You must not let *A.* nor *O.* know of any present Design; but give them leave to believe, that your Dismissions have made us lay aside all such Thoughts for a Time.

If any, with whom I keep Correspondence, does betray me, it must be *O.* yet he bragg'd to me in his last Letter, that he furnished the *D. of York* with a hundred and fifty Pounds for his Journey; but the Truth is, that *N.* (for whose Fidelity I will answer) doth suspect him, and in the last Packet, hath given me warning of him: Concerning whom my Conclusion is; do not dishearten him; get what Money you can of him; but do not trust him; let me tell you, it was

not I that acquainted him with the greater Business; for I found his Name at the joint Letter you sent me, before ever I imagined he knew of any such Thing; and I assure you, I never wrote any Thing of Moment to him, but only made use of him for Conveyance of Letters, and sending me News: In a Word, be as confident of my Discretion, as Honesty; for I can justly brag, that yet neither Man nor Woman ever suffered by my Tongue or Pen, for any Secret that I have been trusted withall.

Here I send you my Answer to *Z.* unsealed, that you may read it; because I refer him to you, to impart unto him all our several Designs; for he is the only Man, who of Necessity must know all. It was not amiss, that you returned me back my little Packet to *W.* for I had sent him a Letter in it, which now I find directed to you; so that now I have mended an Error, which I had almost made: for now you have what you ought to have, and *W.* no more than his own; to whom I have written very freely (wherefore you must deliver your Letter to him your self) yet I have imparted nothing to him, either concerning *Z.*'s Design, or that of *W. L.*'s, but that of the
Back.

Back-Stairs Window, referring him to you for the Particulars. As for the conveying my Letters to my Wife, you may advise either with Dr. *Fraiser*, or my Lady *Carlisle*: I have now no more to say: but give me an Account how you have performed all these Directions of mine, and be confident that I am

Your constant Friend,

J.

7.

26. Ap. 1648.

D.

I Have now made a perfect Trial, and find it impossible to be done; for my Body is much too thick for the Breadth of the Window; so that unless the middle Bar be taken away, I cannot get through. I have also looked upon the other two, and find the one much too little, and the other so high, that I know not how to reach it without a Ladder; besides I do not believe it so much wider than the other, as that it will serve; wherefore it is absolutely impossible to do any Thing to morrow at Night:

But I command you heartily and particularly to thank, in my Name, *A. C. F. Z.* and him who stayed for me beyond the Works, for their hearty and industrious Endeavours in this my Service, the which I shall always remember to their Advantage; being likewise confident, that they will not faint in so good a Work; and therefore expect their farther Advice herein. *J.*

8.

Mr. Firebrace to the King.

Wednesday Night!

S I R,

IT is not ill to have more Ways than one to effect your Business; to which Purpose I have thought of this. If the Fellow that waits on me could be made (which I think no hard Matter) the Business might be ordered thus. A Fellow provided on Purpose, shall come in a false Beard, a Perriwig, a white Cap on, a Country grey or blue Coat, a Pair of coloured Fustian Drawers to come over his Breeches, white Cloth Stockings, great Shoes, an old broad Hat,

to

to be touched of the Evil. He shall make his Addressees to this Man of ours to get him touch'd, and pretend Commendations, or a Letter from some especial Friend. When he is touch'd (which must be at Supper Time) the other shall take him into the Cellar, and make him drink (pretending Joy to see him) and carry him about, that the Soldiers may take Notice of him. You shall have the like Disguise conveyed into your Bed-Chamber (which you may soon slip on) coming up so soon as you have sup'd: then my Man shall by a Sign give you Notice, when you may come forth, and safely slip up Stairs into a little Room there (shutting the Bed-Chamber Door after you, which may be done with Ease and without Noise) where you may remain a little, till he sees the best Opportunity to bring you down in his Friend's Disguise, and conduct you out of the Gates, and from thence to your Horses (which he may do with much Ease, being well-beloved by the Soldiers.) His Friend shall (in some bye-Place of the Castle to be appointed) put off his Disguise and leave it, and go away in his own Habit. This I conceive feasible, if this Fellow can be made, which I doubt not; he
 having

having been a long Time Servant to the Pages of the Back-Stairs, and with you at *Oxford*. This is only to hint this Way to you, which, if you like it, shall be put in Execution. If you like it, and read it before you go forth this Morning; pray leave an Answer, that I may acquaint the rest with it at our Meeting, which will be at nine this Morning.

I writ this in Haste, and could come at no more Paper.

9.

The King's Answer.

D.

HAVING well thought of your new Design, I can think but of one Objection against it; which is, lest the Guards should examine me as I go out; but I conceive a tryal of this may be had, without any Danger of Discovery: For it is but making *He. Chap.* bring in and carry out some such Acquaintance of his so clothed, as you intend I should be, to see with what Freedom he can make such a Man pass and repass the Guards. But in this Tryal there must be no false Beard, upon which

which a clear Judgment is easily made. A for the contriving of it, I like it extremely well, and therefore give you back your Note again ; as also this for *W.* who I find is not fully satisfied with your Design, because of the Danger of Discovery ; but take no Notice of this.

J.

10.

A Key to the foregoing Letters.

A.— Mr. *Francis Cresset* ^a.

B.— Mrs. *Mary* Assistant to the Lady *Wheeler*, Laundress to his Majesty.

C.— Col. *William Legg* ^b, Groom of the Bed-Chamber.

D.— *Henry Firebrace* ^c.

E.— Lady *Carlile*.

F.— Mr. *Abraham Doucett*.

G.— The Prince.

^a See above, p. 55, &c.

^b Also Lieutenant General of the Ordinance, and in the Time of the Civil Wars Governor of *Chester* and *Oxford*. He was continued Groom of the Bed-Chamber, and Lieutenant General of the Ordinance to King *Charles* the Second, and was Father of *George*, created Baron *Dartmouth* December 2^d, 1682, who was Father to *William* the present Earl of *Dartmouth*. *British Compend.* Vol. 1. p. 177.

^c See above, p. 87, &c.

H.— Lady

H.— Lady *Wheeler*.

J.— The King.

K.— Lady *Obigny*^d.

L.— Mr. *Richard Osborn*^e.

M.— The Queen.

N.— Mrs. *Whorwood*, Wife of *Broom
Whorwood*.

O.— Mr. *Low* a Merchant in *London*.

S.— The Duke.

T.— Mr. *John Burrows*.

W.— Captain *Titus*^f.

Z.— Mr. *Ed. Worsely*, late Sir *Edward*
in the Isle of *Wight*.

N^o. II.

THESSE are to certify, that our late dread Sovereign of blessed Memory upon the 29th Day of *January* 1648, being the Day immediately before that horrid and execrable Murder was committed upon the Person of his sacred Majesty, did give me in Charge, to recommend to his Son, our gracious Sovereign that now is, Mr. *Henry Firebrace*, as having been a Person very

^d See above, p. 63.

^e See above, p. 87.

^f See above, p. 89.

faithful and serviceable to him in his greatest Extremities, and most strict Imprisonments, and therefore fit to be employed and intrusted by his Majesty that now is. Given under my Hand this five and twentieth Day of *November 1661.*

W. Cant.

N^o. III.

King Charles the Second to General Monk.

Supercrib'd
T.

Collen 12. Aug. 1655.

ONE who believes he knows your Nature and Inclinations very well, assures me, that notwithstanding all ill Accidents and Misfortunes, you retain still your old Affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the seasonable Opportunity; which is as much as I look for from you. We must all wait patiently for that Opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect: When it is, let it find you ready; and in the mean Time, have a Care to keep your self out of their Hands, who know the Hurt you can do them in a good Conjunction, and can
I never

never but suspect your Affection to be, as I am confident it is, towards

Your very affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

N^o. IV.

Superscrib'd

4th May 1659.

B.

S I R,

YOur's of the 9th of the last Month, to your other Friend, and my self, are safely come to our Hands, which is the only Letter we have received from you, since my last to you; which I only mention: because a good Friend sent me Word that you had written by a former Conveyance, which hath not brought it to us. For the Account of the proceed of the Goods, which were sent to you, I shall say no more (for we do not clearly, comparing former Letters with the last, understand it) but that the Person trusted by you hath paid in seven hundred twenty and five Pounds, which is all he acknowledges himself to be charged with the Receipt of: For the other two hundred Pounds, it is referred to you and the honest Merchant, to make what Compositi-
on

on you think fit; except you see, that in a little Time the whole may be recovered. This last Parcel (of which I suppose we have had former Advertisement) will come in by Degrees, and you must take Care to make all Acknowledgments to the Person; for in Truth it comes very seasonable, as any Thing else of that kind would do: We hear yet but of half the Parcel, the other being it seems not yet sent.

There is no Remedy to be applied to the Fears and Apprehensions of those, who may be put to suffer upon ill Accidents; therefore I shall for the present say no more of the Person, to whom the Money should be made payable; it being an Exception I never heard before, nor can enough comprehend the Reason of it; since the Business of Returns concerns Men of all Nations, nor is any Merchant bound to know the Person, to whom Money shall be paid.

I am much troubled that the Person, which it seems is so well instructed in all Particulars, is not yet come to us. I hope he hath met with no ill Accident; and his Arrival is most impatiently longed for. I have a full Joy for the Recovery of your sick Friend, and am willing to flatter myself,
that

that the Time is drawing on, that we may enjoy each other; and sure if some of his Friends did not think so, it would be impossible that they should so much neglect an Affair of Importance, which you and he will well understand by this Insinuation, and upon which the Hearts of your best Friends are so much fixed; I do wish that your other most Reverend Friend (who hath expressed so much Indulgence to my last Suit, and to whom you are to represent all the Regard of this Place) knew what hath been done here towards it, and what Importunity hath been used from hence, how ineffectually soever. And it is great Pity, that some discreet honest Person is not sent over, which we have so often begged, who might let us know the clear Thoughts of our Friends there, and carry back positive Directions from hence. This Letter may be so long upon the Way, that it will be to no Purpose to send you any News, but what may be the same a Month hence; and therefore I shall only tell you (that you may not believe that we have laid aside the Thoughts of Books, and all good Learning) that Dr. *Creighton*^b hath been
been

^b Dr. Robert Creighton, born in the North of Scotland, and elected

been these many Months in preparing the History of the Council of *Florence* in Greek, which he translates into Latin from a Copy, which will be judged very authentick, and sure will be a Work very welcome to the World; it will be ready for the Impression at *Leyden* within these twenty Days. And now I am speaking of Books, I pray tell me, what Melancholy hath possessed poor Mr. ^b *Thorndike*? And what do our Friends think of his ^c Book? And is it possible that he would publish it, without ever imparting it, or communicating with them? His Name and Reputation in Learning is too much made

elected from *Westminster* School to *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, Anno 1613, afterwards Publick Orator and Greek Professor of that University, December 17, 1632; installed Treasurer of *Wells* on the Collation of Archbishop *Abbot*; and 1637 made Dean of *St. Burian's* in *Cornwall*, and about the same time Doctor of Divinity. Suffering much in the Rebellion, he retired first to the King at *Oxford*, and after his Murther, to King *Charles* the Second at the *Hague*, and was Chaplain to both. At the Restoration he took Possession of the Deanery of *Wells*, granted to him before; and June 19, 1670, was made Bishop of that Diocese, and died November 21, 1672, about the seventy ninth Year of his Age. See more of him *Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 861, 862.* Dr. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 72.

^b See above, p. 339.

^c Most probably his Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of *England*, &c. printed the same Year this Letter was writ, viz. 1659. That was his famous Book, and gave much Offence.

use of, to the Discountenance of the poor Church; and though it might not be in his Power to be without some Doubts and Scruples; I do not know, what Impulsion of Conscience there could be, to publish those Doubts to the World, in a Time when he might reasonably believe, the worst use would be made, and the greatest Scandal proceed from them. I wish you all Happiness, and am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant.

Receiv'd *May 25.*

Indorsed *Maij 7, 1659.*

N^o. V.

Superscrib'd
For Mr. *Burden.*

4th June 1659.

S I R,

I Have received your's of the 19th of the last Month, and your last of the second of this by an honest Bearer; but the other you mention of the same Day when the Parliament

liament was dissolved, is not yet come to my Hands; and I plainly find by your's, that two of mine which might then very well have been with you, were still upon the Way, but I am confident will come at last to you; and therefore I shall not repeat any Thing I then said. With your last of the second I received a Letter for your Friend the Merchant, but a Direction to open it myself, if he were not in the Way, and he being then at *Flushing*, I opened it accordingly, and sent the enclosed to Mr. *Shaw*^d; so that Affair stands very well, of which I have since informed your Friend; and all stands clear with him.

Your Mutations in *England* are so signal; that you cannot blame Men's Curiosities, if they desire to have as particular and frequent Advertisements of all that passes, as may be; yet I do not wish you should write by any other Conveyance, than that you most trust.

There is an especial Occasion, in which Mr. *Thornton* is to lay out some Money for your Friend here; and therefore I am to

^d I suppose the Person mentioned above in the King's Letter, p. 179, and the same that was afterwards Sir *John Shaw*, Collector of the Customs Inwards.

desire you from him, that when so much comes to your Hands, you would pay fifty Pound to Mr. *Thornton*, which shall be allowed. There is very much Discourse amongst the Merchants at *Antwerp*, that there is like to be a Peace with *Spain*; which I believe is spoken upon slight Grounds; yet I should be glad to know what you believe there. Let me, I beseech you, hear that your sick ^e Friend hath perfectly recovered his Health. You have ^f another, who, I heartily wish, could find Means to take the Air, without which I believe a most important Affair will never be enough looked after.

Since the writing of this I have received your's of the 16th by this honest Gentleman; and the enclosed is an Answer to you from the King, who likewise signed these Acquittances, which I think are according to your Desire; if they are not, any Thing shall be mended which you shall desire; and I do assure you, the Money hath come very seasonably, and been of singular use to his

^e Most probably Dr. *Fuxon* Bishop of *London*, whom I take to be meant by *B. L.* in the Postscript to N^o. VII.

^f I suppose Dr. *Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, then Prisoner in the Tower.

Majesty. It is wished, there could always remain in your Hands such a Sum as you mention, for the Dispatch of Messengers, of which there is like to be frequent Occasions; and you will return hearty Thanks from the King to the Person, who hath supplied the last; and whatever you disburse upon any such Occasions, according to your Discretion, will be very well approved; and I am to desire you to deliver to Mr. *Thorneton* thirty Pound, which he is to pay to a Man, who is to bring over Horses; and therefore you are desired, that it may be done with all Speed.

I am very sorry that our sick & Friend doth not recover so fast as we wish, and as is necessary for the Publick. It is heartily wished, that as soon as his Health will give him leave, he would return ^h to you, and consult upon the great Affair, which considering the Delays have been hitherto used, is not like to move as it ought to do,

^g See above, p. 404. Note ^e.

^h Supposing the Bishop of *London* to be meant, he was probably at his Manor of little *Compton* in *Gloucestershire*, where Mr. *Wood* tells us he spent several Years after the King's Murther in a devout Retirement. *Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 662.* where you have a short Account of him.

without another kind of Prosecution; and the King is very impatient to have that Work done. I need say nothing to you of our own Condition, of which the Bearer will give you a good Account, and of the Hopes we have to improve it, and that I may live to do you some Service, which I do heartily desire to do, as

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant.

Receiv'd May 31, S. V.

The Order following is added by another Hand.

It is not the Purpose, that the twenty five Pound given to the Bearer for his Journey should be deducted out of the fifty, which he is to dispose of according to order.

N^o. VI.

Superscribed
For Mr. *Brookes*.

12th June, 1659.

S I R,

I Hope Mr. *Thorneton* is before this Time well with you; since whose Departure I have

have received your's without Date, by this Bearer ; and since that, two others of the third of the last Month, which had lain long on the Way ; and I believe some of mine have had the same Fortune in their Passage towards you : To the Particulars of those I need not make any Reply, there being so great Alteration since ; only shall tell you, that I know the young Gentlemanⁱ well whom you mention, and hope he will do good in the Company he is, towards which we do all we can ; I do not say all that may be thought necessary, but all that is in our Power.

Your Affairs there alter so fast, that it were to be wished, as you say, that we could hear from thence every Day ; and yet when we do hear, there remains Uncertainty enough ; one Letter at the same Time contradicting, what another of the same Date affirms ; as I have seen by this last Post two Letters from very discreet Men, whereof one says positively, that *Harry Cromwell* hath submitted to the Parliament, and the other as positively, that he protests a-

ⁱ Perhaps Mr. *Wrenn*, whom I suppose to be meant by that Appellation, N^o. VIII. See above, p. 252.

gainst it, and hath his Army in due Obedience. Whatsoever the State now is, it is probable, that new Revolutions will quickly alter it. The enclosed will answer concerning the Particulars you recommended; and I think it so necessary, that we should be able to communicate with each other, with more Freedom and Security in Affairs of Moment, that I think it necessary to send you the enclosed Cypher^k, which you may

^k This Cypher consists of Numbers from 1 to 692, placed in their order on a Sheet of Paper in eleven Columns from top to bottom, the first Column extending from 1 to 63; after which the six following Numbers being omitted, the second Column begins with 70 and ends with 131; the third begins where the second leaves off, and so all the rest, and over against every Number is placed the Letter or Letters of the Alphabet, or the Syllable, or the Word respectively for which such Number stands; as in this Specimen, which is the beginning of the three first Columns. So that as he that wrote by this Cypher could readily find both in the first Column what Letter of the Alphabet he had occasion to write; and in the several Lines extending from each Letter in that through all the other Columns, what Syllable, Word, or Name of Person or Place he wanted, according to the Letter it began with, and over against

A.	1	ab-70	af-132
	2	ad-71	ar-133
	3	ac-73	ap-134
B.	4	by-73	bi-135
	5	ba-74	bo-136
	6	be-75	bu-137
C.	7	ca-76	co-138
	8	ce-77	cu-139
	9	ci-78	cr-140

such Letter, Syllable, Word, &c. what Number he was to put for it: So he that made use of it to decypher any thing written by it, could as readily find the Number he was decyphering, and over against it the Letter, Syllable, Word, &c. meant thereby.

But

may please to use upon all emergent Occasions ; I wish you all Happiness, and am very heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant.

Receiv'd June 10.

But to render the Cypher more difficult to be found out, as each Letter in the Alphabet is represented by three several Numbers, except K, w, and Y only by two, and X and Z by none: So several of the Numbers have no Letter, Syllable, or Word over against them, because they stand for nothing, and were only us'd to perplex such as should attempt to read what was written hereby, without the Help of the Cypher. So several of the Letters were superscribed with Numbers signifying nothing, some with two or three Lines of them, only to puzzle the Enemy, if they should fall into their Hands, which I the rather mention here, because some Persons, for want of examining those Supercriptions, as printed in the Appendix to the Latin Life (p. 358, 360, 389, 396, and 427.) with the Cypher also published there, have wondered what was the meaning of them: and it was for the same Reason, that several of the Chancellor's Letters, besides the Number denoting his Name, were subscribed with other Numbers, that either had nothing in the Cypher to answer them, or nothing to the Purpose. As to the Supercriptions, B. or any Name beginning with B. seems to have signified *Barwick*.

No. VII.

June 21, 1659.

I Cannot more reasonably presume of doing some good by ¹ it, than by making use of the first Fruits of it in the Service of God and his Church. And first in tendering the most humble Submission of the Reverend Fathers of it to his sacred Majesty by your Lordship's Mediation, and their dutiful Acknowledgment of his pious and Princely Care of her: And next in presenting their humble Thanks to your Lordship, for the many good Offices you have done for her. And in this Rank the Bishop of *Ely* and the Bishop of *Salisbury* desire to have a particular mention, as being more particularly obliged to your Lordship for your particular Expressions to them. The grand Affair of the Church is still in Motion towards that

¹ This Letter is Dr. *Barwick's* to the Lord Chancellor, and seems to be imperfect at the beginning, where something might perhaps be said concerning the Cypher (inclos'd in his Lordship's last Letter) which was not material to be printed; and yet it is no unusual Thing in Letters to refer to what is only in the Mind of the Writer.

happy Conclusion, which his sacred Majesty is so piously zealous for, with what Speed may reasonably be used in a Matter of so great Importance and Difficulty. The List of Names and Places which his Majesty was pleased to send, hath much facilitated the Work in several Instances; for thereby are cut off all Occasions of Dispute in relation to the Number, Persons, and Sees. And as for the manner of their proceeding in that great Work, your Lordship is humbly desired to assure his Majesty, that they have advised with the best Council at Law this Place affords, not only in order to the securing of the Work and their own Persons, but also for the Defence of his Majesty's Prerogative from the least Hazard of any Infringement, which they always intended, and still resolve to preserve inviolable: And that being done, they are fully assured of his Majesty's Piety and Goodness in giving Way, that this great Affair (upon which not only the Security, but the very Being of this Church may possibly hereafter depend) may be transacted in such a Method, as may best stop the Mouths of all Adversaries, and be most agreeable to the Canons and Practice of the Primitive Church (especially in the
 first

first four general Councils) and give the greatest Security to the Persons of all that shall be concerned in it (either as Consecrators or Consecrated) from any Persecution that may possibly be raised against them for it, in case it cannot be concealed. I perceive by several Passages of your Lordship's late Letters, what an high Esteem you have of the Bishop of *Ely* and the Bishop of *Salisbury*, in this Cause; and to say nothing of the rest, I can assure your Lordship, that since the heavy Burthen of soliciting this Business was imposed upon me, nothing hath either been acted or designed, but by their full Approbation; nor any thing omitted, which they thought necessary: So that all the Delays, which have intervened, have proceeded from the Difficulty of so weighty a Work, in so bad Times, and will be taken off as soon as possibly may be.

I have herewith sent your Lordship an Extract out of the last Letter I received from the one of them (that I may give your Lordship some better Assurance than my bare Word, what their Apprehensions are, as to this particular) for it fully agrees with what I found to be the Sense of the other
upon

upon several Discourses, excepting only that Passage of the Unseasonableness of the Time. It was occasioned by what your Lordship commanded me to signify to him (which I did *in terminis*) together with what I could collect from the Discourse of Mr. *Allestrey*, was your Lordship's Sense upon the Case. There is nothing in it, which your Lordship will not see to the bottom, without my Commentary, excepting that Passage — *But for the manner proposed, &c.* and the Expedient thereupon, which I mentioned to him. And to clear this, I must beg your Lordship's Patience, first to hear what I collected from the Messenger's Discourse, and then what I proposed by Way of Expedient. For the former (if I mistook not) I conceive your Lordship's Sense was, that the Proceeding ought to be by a *Mandat* from his Majesty to any three or four Bishops by way of Collation, upon the Lapse for the Dean and Chapter's Non-Election: And that your Lordship grounded this Method, 1. Upon his Majesty's Prerogative. 2. Upon a former Consultation with the Bishop of *Ely*. And 3. Upon the constant Practice in *Ireland*: In all which Particulars I shall give your Lordship a faithful

faithful Account of the Sense of our best Friends here; and then submit the Matter to your Lordship's second Thoughts. First, it is the Opinion of them all, that the Supposal of a Lapse would more impair the King's Prerogative, than the Collation could advance it; because it would presuppose a Power of Election *pleno Jure* in the Deans and Chapters, which they have only *de Facultate Regiâ*: And for them to petition for such a Licence would be as difficult, as to elect, if they had it; many of the Deans being dead, some Chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed, as they cannot meet in the Chapter-House, where such Acts regularly are to be performed: And beside this, such Petitions were never attempted, till the King's Pleasure was intimated to them, that they might petition; which was the Cause of the long Vacancy of some Bishopricks. 2. For the Bishop of *Ely*, his own Answer is, that what he delivered as his Opinion in the former Consultation, was to supply those Defects, that could not be avoided in Capitular Elections (supposing always the Necessity of some Election according to the constant Practice of the whole Church of Christ) and that

since

since he considered of the Method now on Foot, he is clearly of Opinion, it will consist as well with his Majesty's Prerogative, and much more with the antient Canons of the Church. And 3. For the Practice in *Ireland*, the same Reverend Person's Reply to me was, that he did not more desire to live to see his Majesty's Face for any other Cause, than that he might become an humble Petitioner, that the like Liberties might be restored to the Church of *Ireland*, which are continued in *England*; which would be a great Honour to his Majesty here, and a greater Happiness hereafter. And if your Lordship please to appoint any to turn over *Binius* (*Tom. 3, to Page 332. of the Paris Edit.*) you will find the Sense of that famous Council of *Chalcedon* as to this Particular, in a Case not only resolved by the Fathers, according to the Laws of the Church, but judged by the Emperor's Commissioners in that Council, to stand in Force for future Practice. And this is one of those four Councils, which were always held of greatest Veneration in the Church, and are still so much countenanced by the Laws of *England*.

Now

Now for the Expedient mentioned in my Letter to *D. T.* it was, that his Majesty would be pleased to grant his Commission to the Bishops of each Province respectively, to elect and consecrate fit Persons to such and such Sees, either assembled in Provincial Council, or otherwise, as they should find most convenient, (His Majesty signifying, as he hath done, his Pleasure concerning the Places and Persons) with such dispensative Clauses, as should be found necessary upon the Emergency of the Fact; which Commissions may bear date before the Action, though all Contingencies which may be necessary to be dispensed with, cannot be so clearly foreseen, as to have them drawn up, till the Thing be done: And then afterward upon Certificate and Petition, to have his Majesty's Ratification and Confirmation of the whole Process; and the Register to be drawn up accordingly by the chief Actuary, who may take his Memorials hence, and make up the Record there. And if this seem reasonable to your Lordship for the Preservation of his Majesty's Prerogative, it would be one of the greatest Obligations you can lay upon the Fathers and Sons of this poor Church, to satisfy his

Majesty

Majesty in the whole and every Branch of it. I know, when I have wearied your Lordship with this tedious Discourse, there may be several Doubts and Questions raised upon it, which I hope I could give more clear Satisfaction unto, if I were present; and therefore I humbly desire, that the Merits of the Cause may neither depend upon this distance of Place, nor the Haste I write in, and least of all upon the Inabilities of the Manager of it. I hope your Lordship's candid Interpretation of all Things, will make this Letter supply the Want of sending some Person, to give an Account of this Affair, and perhaps him who is most unfitting in several Respects for such an Employment, and who to the best of his Power will not be idle (as Occasion is offered) though he be excused in this Particular.

I have no more to add upon this Account, but only that seeing none is yet nominated for *Carlisle*, it is the Bishop of *Ely's* Opinion (and his Pleasure I should signify it as such) that your Lordship may do his Majesty good Service in minding him, that it hath been always the Prudence of our former Princes, to keep some Equality of the Ba-

lance between the two Universities (*cæteris paribus*) for the general Encouragement of Learning (whereunto his Majesty may still cast in a Grain in the Nomination to this Place, if so it be his Pleasure) which otherwise he observeth will be overpoised, when he considers, both who are already in the Stock, and who are designed for the Supply. I must add his Protestation, that this is said without Insinuation of any particular Person, which both he and the rest desire may proceed freely from his Majesty's Choice: And they bless God for his Majesty's Care and Prudence in making Choice of so many worthy Persons for that great Burthen of the Government of the Church, and the settling the Affairs thereof, when it shall please God to vouchsafe us so great a Mercy.

One Thing more, I must acknowledge, Mr. *Allestrey* signified to me as your Lordship's Pleasure, that I would send your Lordship Precedents of the Patents for the D. ^m of *W.* and *Ch. Ch.* And I had not omitted it, if he had not promised me a

^m I suppose the Deaneries of *Westminster* and *Christ-Church*.
See N^o. xii.

Copy of the latter from *Oxford*, which I have not yet received: When it comes, I hope I shall supply the other from the Rolls, or if it comes not, transcribe them both, if there be any Difference (for I guess they may there be had) and send them upon some other Opportunity. In the interim and ever I am

For the Business of the Church, the continued great Indisposition of B. L.ⁿ (a Person very useful every Way) makes a new Difficulty in it. I am very much urged by some of the rest to take a Journey to him, which I am very loth to do at this Time, when there may be other Use of me here. They are desirous the Chasm of *Carlisle* may be supplied, while other Things are preparing. It will be a hard Work to do it as it ought. I have made some Enquiry into Matters of this Nature, the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, and find it no Phrase of Course in the Statute (8 *Eliz. C. 1.*) when they speak of the great Caution was then used, for which they refer to the Records.

June 27.^o

ⁿ Bishop of *London*. See above, p. 404.

^o Then probably receiv'd.

N^o. VIII.

Superfcrib'd
B.

Brussels 27 June, 1659.

S I R,

BEing assured that this will be put safely into your Hands, and that you have already received my Cypher, I do, by the King's Command, tell you, that since he writ to you, he hath done all that is in his Power to promote the Business of *Ireland*, in the Way and Method you have advised, and hopes he shall have good Success: Yet he desires you to press your Friend ^p all you can; and that, if the ^q other doth not advance it, he will. Our Intelligence from all Parts persuades us, that *H. Cromwell* hath not submitted, as was reported; and it is a wonderful strange Thing, if he can think to stand upon his own Legs; or indeed that he and his Family can be any other Way preserved, but by the King's Protection: And therefore I am not with-

^p Colonel *Rehman*.

^q Colonel *Globery*.

out some Wonder, that all his Friends should not declare their Inclinations. I should be very glad to hear as frequently from you, of your Hopes and Success in this Particular, and in the other of *Scotland*, as is possible; and you may be assured, we leave nothing undone on our Parts, in Reference unto either, that is in our Power; for it would give infinite Reputation to the King, and make him much the more considered Abroad, if it were believed, he had such Friends at Home.

I wish some good Friend would supply you, that you might not only have wherewithall to send Messengers hither upon any Occasion; but likewise that you might be able to relieve any honest Man, who attends, and is fit to be employed, when there is Occasion: And upon that account I do recommend the good young Man you last sent, and would have mentioned him to that Purpose to you in the Letter I then writ; but that I knew, your Stock was out with what was assigned to *Jack Cooper*. But when you have any new Supply, if you relieve *Grigg* with twenty Pound, it shall be all owned upon Account. I should be glad to hear, that you had prevailed with

the young ° Gentleman to bestow some of his Time upon *Leviathan*: And I beseech you, present my humble Service to his Father, upon whom no Man looks with more Reverence; and I pray God, that his not being at Liberty, be not the Cause, that nothing is done in the Business of Ordination. I am sure the King can do no more in it; and is exceedingly afflicted; that they who can, do not; when they know his Majesty's Pleasure so particularly in all Things concerning it. I pray tell me, whether my Lord of *Ely* doth not think, that my very good Friend Dr. *Cofins* hath proceeded ^p farther than he needed to have done, upon any Provocation Mr. *Fuller* could have given him. I wish you all Happiness, and am very heartily

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

° Mr. *Wrenn*, the Bishop of *Ely*'s Son. See N^o. x.

^p The Piece here referred to is Dr. *Cofins*'s Letter (dated Paris April 6, 1658) in Answer to Dr. *Fuller*'s Charge against him in his Church History, *Lib.* II. fol. 173. printed in Dr. *Heylin*'s Animadversions on *Fuller*'s Church History. See *Heylin*'s *Examen Historicum*, p. 283, &c. Edit. 8^{vo}, 1659.

It would be well, if you compounded the old Business, ⁹ [and] got half the Money in Hand. If two or three hundred Pounds could be procured and returned over, it would come seasonably.

Receiv'd *June* 24.

N^o. IX.

S I R, *Brussels July 8, 1659.*

I Have received your's, &c. as above p. 198, to the end of the Paragraph.

I am so fully convinced by your Discourse in the Business of the Church, that I think my self obliged to make some Apology for the Obstinacy I might seem to have when Mr. *Allestrey* was here, and to tell you from whence it proceeded. You must know, that we have always thought this Affair of such a Nature, that it is as necessary to make it a secret here, as where you are: And the Truth is, except it be to my Lord of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, and my self, there is not the least Thing of it known, nor, upon my Conscience, imagined. It hath been no small Affliction to me, that I have

⁹ In the Cypher it is 225, which answers to the Word *Live*, as printed in the *Appendix* to the Latin *Life*: I suppose it a Mistake for 255, which signifies *and*, as I here alter it.

not had any to converse with, in a Point of so much Difficulty, who understands more of it than my self; which God knows is too little: And that Affliction hath been increased by the very positive Difference of Opinion between those, by whom I am very willing to be instructed. The^r Bishop of *Derry* was, and I think still is so positive for the *Irish* Way (which I think he wishes introduced into *England*) that no Way seemed so safe to him, as consecrating all the Persons to void Sees in *Ireland*, and then removing them to others in *England*; which he thought would clearly elude all those Formalities, which seem to perplex us. Dr. *Cosins*, (who to my Judgment understood the Affair much better, and in no Degree liked the other Way) assured me, that he had the Bishop of *Ely*'s full Approbation of the former proposed by him, of which I informed his Majesty. And upon that Ground, and that Foundation, we adhered to that Method and Order; much preferring the Bishop of *Ely*'s Judgment and Advice, in that Point, before any Man's: And upon

^r Dr. *Bramhall*. See above, p. 174.

the same Ground his Majesty is very willing to change, and acquiesce in the Opinion and Resolution now propos'd; and leaves the whole Dispatch of it entirely to their Care, both for the Time and the Manner. Only I must desire, that the Form of such a Commission, as is there judged necessary, may be sent us to a Letter, since I cannot have any Help here; and then I will be accountable for the Secrecy. I will make another Excuse to you for that Impatience which [might] appear in me, both in what I have written to the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and what I might say to Mr. *Allestrey*, with Reference to the Time, and to all possible Haste in the finishing it. I will not mention the Age of the Consecrators; though it hath put me into many a Fright. But I will tell you a Phancy of my own, which I will acknowledge to you, hath been more the Ground of that Impatience; though it be but a Phancy, and never yet communicated to any Person. The late Revolutions in *England*, and the several Humours, and

^f In the Cypher it is 521, which answers to the Word *Force*, as printed in the *Appendix* to the Latin Life, I conclude it a Mistake for 351, which stands for *might*, and so alter it.

Distempers,

Distempers, and Jealousies in several Factions amongst themselves, make it a very natural Supposition, that there may fall out some avowed Treaty with the King; and then the Presbyterians will not be over modest, in valuing and computing their own Power; though I may tell you, I know them to be as far from Union, as any other Party. If I were a Presbyterian (and they have many wiser Men, and who know better how to compass what themselves desire) I would not propose to the King to do any formed Act to the Prejudice of the Church; because I should despair of prevailing with him; but I would beseech him to suspend the doing any Thing, that should contribute to the former Establishment, till there might be such a mature Deliberation, that the best Provision might be made to compose all Differences: and if I could prevail thus far; I should hope by some continued Suggestions (which would be speciously enough administered by Persons of very distinct Interests) to spin out the Time, till all the Bishops were dead: You may easily believe, there would be Concurrence enough in such an Overture, from Persons far enough from Presbyterians.

ans. In a Word, it would be grateful to too many ; and not resolutely enough opposed by others, who in truth mean well, but are not yet convinced of the Mischief of Compliance in Things, which they call small. If any such Overtures shall at any Time be made to the King ; I doubt not, but he will discern the End, and consequently not consent to them : yet I do wish in all Events, that the Succession were provided for. And now I have made you my Confessor : and if the Consideration be of Moment, it will prevail with those, who can give the Remedy.

I pray remember my Service with all imaginable Reverence to my Lord of *Ely*, and assure him, that the King will always return that Candor, Benignity, and Equality to both the Universities, which he wishes ; and I hope all, who shall be intrusted by him in that great Affair, will be as just and dispassioned in all their Interpositions, and look upon them as equal Lights to Learning and Piety, and equally worthy of all Encouragement and Protection. And if at present my Lord of *Ely* will recommend any Person to his Majesty for the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*, he shall be approved : And
if

if my Lord will transmit a List of Persons to be specially recommended to the King for any Dignities in the Church; I dare promise, the Persons shall find, that they could not have been better recommended. I know not what more to add, but my hearty Service to your sick^t Friend, whose Health I pray for, as a publick Concernment. To your self I shall say no more, but that I shall think my self very faulty, if I do not serve you very heartily; and if you do not with the first receive some Evidence of the Sense the King hath of your Service. I am very heartily,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

I pray deliver the enclosed
to Mr. Cooper. Receiv'd not till *Aug. 29.*

Indors'd *June 8, 1659,* (with this
Note in the Dean's Transcript)
I suppose it should be July 8.

N^o. X.

Superfcrib'd
For Mr. B.

Brussels 25. July, 1659.

S I R,

SINCE my last unto you, which was of the 8th of this Month, I have received your's of the 27th of the last, and your others of the 1st and 8th of this Month, so that though I retain my self from writing directly to you by the Post of this Place, because I have not such a Direction as will warrant it; yet you see your's to me comes very right that Way. Mr. *Thorneton* and Mr. *Palden* have both acknowledged the several Sums from you; which makes me wish, that you should never be without a small Sum in your Hands for such Causes and sudden Disbursements. I know not what to say more of your Friends^u in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, the last whereof I hope may be of present Use; and a new Revolution may give the other an Opportunity to do what he intended.

² Colonel *Redman* and Colonel *Globery*.

I hope

I hope it is only Modesty in Mr. *Wrenn*, that makes him pause upon undertaking the Work you have recommended to him: For I dare swear, by what I have seen of his, he is very equal to answer every part of it: I mean every part that requires an Answer. Nor is there need of a professed Divine to vindicate the Creation from making Man a verger Beast, than any of those of the Field; or to vindicate Scripture from his licentious Interpretation. I dare say he will find somewhat in Mr. *Hobbs* himself, I mean in his former Books, that contradicts what he sets forth in this, in that Part, in which he takes himself to be the most exact, his beloved Philosophy: And sure there is somewhat due to *Aristotle*, and *Tully*, and to our Universities, to free them from his Reproaches; and it is high Time, if what I hear be true, that some Tutors read his *Leviathan*, instead of the others, to their Pupils. Mr. *Hobbs* is my old Friend; yet I cannot absolve him from the Mischief he hath done to the King, the Church, the Laws, and the Nation: And surely there should be enough to be said to the Politics of that Man, who having resolved all Religion, Wisdom, and Honesty into an

implicit Obedience to the Laws established, writes a Book of Policy, which I may be bold to say, must be by the established Laws of any Kingdom or Province in *Europe* condemned for impious and seditious; and therefore it will be very hard, if the Fundamentals of it be not to be overthrown. But I must ask both your's and Mr. *Wrenn's* Pardon for enlarging so much, and antedating those Animadversions he will make upon it.

For the Matter of the Church I can add nothing to what I said to you in my last: And if my Lord of *Ely* will recommend a Person to the See of *Carlisle*, he will be added to the rest by the King. I am very glad *Venables* disposes himself to a present Engagement for the King; and I hope he will be a very fit Adviser of Sir *George Booth*, who I believe hath good Resolutions; but I hear he is very much disheartened upon the Submission of *H. Cromwell*, and seems to fear, as if Forces from *Ireland* might be poured upon him; which, methinks, is an over Apprehension: Therefore the *Embassador* wishes, that your Friends would spur on *Venables* all they can.

Though

Though your Governors are very reserved in any severe Exercise of their Power; yet if they be let alone till they settle their *Militia*, they will quickly take more upon them; therefore we wish to hear, that the late Fasts have produced their usual Effects; and that both the Parliament and Council of State are resolved into the Condition of other Men, and you even in that Case. We are not out of Apprehension, that any single Person chosen for the Government, may not, upon these general Rumours of Plots, do our Friends more Mischief in four and twenty Hours, than the Parliament and Council of State have done since their sitting; therefore it will be no Wonder, if the King be ready to do any Thing in his own Person, he shall be advis'd to by his Friends, or thinks necessary for their Preservation, upon which his own Interest so much depends. I wish you all Happiness, and am very heartily,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd Nov. 10.

Hyde,

N^o.

N^o. XI.

Superfcrib'd *Brussels, July 28,*
(For Mr. *Burges*, these.) 1659.

S I R,

THE Day before this honest Bearer gave me your's of the 11th, I had writ to you, and sent it inclosed to him; which I hope he will find at his Return, or shortly after; for it goes by a sure Messenger, who must attend the Winds; and therefore I do not repeat any Thing I said then, or in my former by Sir *Abraham Shipman*, who I hope is safely arrived. The King is very well satisfied with the Account you have given him, and takes himself to be very much beholden to your Friend, who, in the Trouble he is in himself, takes his Business so much to Heart. His Majesty desires him to prosecute that of *Seotland* with as much Vigour as he can; and if *Monk* will resolve to declare for him, his Majesty will so fully trust him, as to be with him in his own Person. And he hath Reason to be confident, that he shall not find many considerable Enemies in the North of

F f

England.

England. You may assure your ^w Friend, that he and his ^x Friend shall find their full Accounts with his Majesty. The other Bu-
siness of *Ireland*, I perceive, must attend some new Revolutions, which probably may be at Hand. I thank you for the Prece-
dent, and shall expect the other as soon as you can. I am afflicted, that our sick ^y Friend finds not his Health come on fa-
ster. I want Advice from some, what Dignity in the Church would be most suit-
able to your Acceptation, and in what Country you would wish it to lye; for the King hath given me a Charge concerning it, and I am not enough instructed; I pray help me in it. I have not Time to add more, then that I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

You must never forget my Service to my Lord of *Ely*; and if he please to recom-

^w Mr. Otway.

^x Colonel Clobery.

^y See above, p. 404.

mend some of his Friends to the King, they will find the Fruit of it in all Ways.

Receiv'd *July 24th*, 1659.

N^o. XII.

Sept. 14. 1659.

THIS is the second^z Part of my Task, and relates to the chief Thing in my present Intention, the Business of the Church; concerning which your last hath given so full Content to those, that really mind it, and rightly understand it, that I am by them commanded to return their humble Thanks to your Lordship, and their most submissive Duty, by your Mediation, to his sacred Majesty. It is the greatest Evidence of God's Favour to this poor Church, that she hath a Nursing Father of so great Piety and Candor; and not the least, that he hath a Minister of so much Fidelity and unbiassed Affections for her Good in every Respect: And it would be a very great Shame and Sin too for us, that have the Opportunity for it, if we do not upon every

^z Another Letter of Mr. *Barwick's* to the Lord Chancellor, on the same Subject with the former, N^o. VII.

Occasion humbly propose such Things, as may give you a true Information, how that may be best obtained, which is so piously intended.

I much honour those two Reverend Persons, whom you consulted in this great Affair; and if it would not be tedious as well as superfluous, I could give you yet a fuller Insight into the Grounds of our Method, as it differs from theirs, that you may not rely upon the Authority of any Man, farther than you see his Reasons. But his Majesty being already satisfied, and the Method approved on by your Lordship, my Labour will be more usefully bestowed, in endeavouring to promote the Work with all possible Speed, for those weighty Reasons mentioned in your last; though you are pleased to stile them no better than Phantries.

In *July* last I went a Circuit among some of those, on whom the Work doth chiefly depend; and I found them very ready and willing to advance it, but in good Hopes there would be no need of this intended Method. I hope they are still of the same Mind and Affections; seeing the same Reason that damps those Hopes, makes the Work more necessary: And I am sure no-
thing

thing shall be wanting on my Part to serve them in it: And I beseech your Lordship, as Occasion serves, to lay as many and strict Commands upon me from his Majesty as you please, to quicken them in it: For I fear this Winter will go hard with some of them, that may worst be spared in the due Performance of such a Work.

In my last I desired some Assistance and Instructions, as to some Particulars, that concern the Persons nominated for Bishops; but I was then in such Haste, as I could not give you my Reasons for it: I hope you have some good Assurance, that all of them will undergo that great Work; and yet it is disputable among some of us here: For I believe, all of them understand the Weight of the Burthen so well, as not to make it the Object of their Desire; though I know withall, that several of them are resigned for any Service of the Church, whatsoever the Consequences be. Those that either are of great Years, or have great Dependences of Wife and Children upon them, have the strongest Temptations to the contrary; and I could instance in some, with whom it is thought they may prevail; but how well those Thoughts are grounded, I know

not. I doubt not, but ^b S. N. understands his Brother's Mind, and you from him: but otherwise some here are in doubt, what he will do in this Case, as Things now stand; being a Person of much Prudence and Caution. There is another, whom I also much reverence, D. ^c M. whose Years and Modesty are so great, as it is thought by those, that know him better than I, he will rather chuse a private Life. And it were great Pity to cast such a Load upon him against his Will, now when he is come to that Condition, as to need a Coadjutor, if he were already in the Office: His Sight is almost quite gone, and his Infirmities otherwise so great, as he can hardly come up hither to receive Consecration, which is but the Preface to his Work. For these and the like Reasons, I am encouraged by those that foresee Rubs before they come, to desire your Lordship to send some more Names

^b Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*. See N°. xvi.

^c Dr. *Francis Mansel* Principal of *Jesus College* in *Oxford*. See N°. xvi. His obstinate Refusal of the Episcopal Dignity more than once, is mentioned on his Epitaph in that College, where he was interr'd. *Infulas Episcopales— non semel oblatas, serio tremuit, obstinatus refugit. Le Neve's Mon.* and that he died almost eighty Years old, on the First of *May*, 1665.

from his Majesty, to supply such possible Defects as these, if they should fall out in these, or any other Persons already named.

But however I beseech you by the first Opportunity to send the Name of a fit Person for *Carlisle*; for till then the Work must be at a stand; and the Bishop of *Derry* (upon whom the Canonical Dispatch of it, as to that Election, wholly depends) is infirm, and cannot live long. And farther, I must beseech your Favour, to signify his Majesty's Pleasure concerning the supplying of the Bishoprick of the Isle of *Man*, which is in the Province of *York*: For though the Nomination of the Person belongs to the Earl of *Derby*, who desires it may be done, and refers it wholly to them, now that the Person hath refus'd it, to whom he proffered it; yet they will hardly do it without his Majesty's leave; and it is thought necessary to supply as many Places as may be within that Province, considering how small the whole Number is, if they were all full.

My Lord of *Ely* returns all dutiful Acknowledgments to his Majesty, and his humble Service to your Lordship: I perceive you misunderstood him, as to the poizing the Number between the two Universities; for

he never suspected his Majesty's equal Favour to both; nor thought him worthy of the Office of Bishop, that is not of the same Temper: But however he has observed it, as a good Encouragement to Learning, when young Students could recount such and such Bishops of the same University or College with themselves. It is not now indeed so considerable; seeing the Rule of *Æn. Sylvius*, which was always good, is now indispensably necessary, *Non Hominibus dandas esse Dignitates, sed Dignitatibus Homines*: And for this and other Reasons (with all dutiful Thanks) the Bishop of *Ely* desires to be excus'd, as to the recommending of any Person either to *Carlisle*, or any other Dignity; though he will not omit his Prayers, that God would direct his Majesty always for the best, and at this Time more particularly; when the Settlement both of the Church and Universities is like to have so great an Influence, not only upon the Souls of Men, but also upon his Majesty's Government, to all future Ages. I have heard him say (and I know another of the same Temper) that he never was Suiter for any Place in the Church; and I have heard others say both of him and Bishop *Andrews* before

before him, that neither of them ever gave any to any that were. It has been too common a Mistake, to dispense such Places by Favour and Affection, and call them Preferments, and look upon them as Rewards, which are indeed (especially now) only new Obligations to a far greater Work, and a much greater Charge upon our last Account. The Iniquity of these present Times hath rectified this Error in many: And it is the Opinion of some Churchmen of the greatest Understanding and Foresight among us, that for one Age none can possibly have Occasion to fall into it again, though all other Things should answer our Desire. The whole Revenue of the Church, (supposing, which yet can hardly be imagined, it should return intirely and immediately) will hardly allow Necessaries to the first Incumbents, by that Time the Churches are made fit for God's Service, and the Houses for Man's Habitation; so that the Straw will be wanting, and yet the Tale of Brick must be multiplied ten Fold. I beseech your Lordship, excuse this Digression. These are not my Thoughts only, but also of the greatest Masters of Reason of our Tribe in this Place, which your former

Candor

Candor hath given me the Boldness to represent unto you, in order to the Good of the Church: and whoever of us thinks otherwise, will (I fear) either fall short of his Hopes, or fail the Church in his Duty. A publick Spirit was always good in the Clergy, but now indispensably necessary.

I have now sent you the Precedents for the Grant of Deaneries, which have been so long expected: And I have purposely sought out those, that are of the most different Nature: And yet they differ so little, as I might have referred you to that I formerly sent. Some little verbal Differences there are, and the Clause of *Habendum* is transposed in that for *Westminster*; but which is best, your Lordship may judge: For my part, I take them rather to be casual Slips, than any Difference in the Precedents, excepting only the Title, by which every Church is incorporated, and the Name of the last Incumbent; both which it would be very convenient to observe in all Grants of this Nature; and yet I find it not so necessary, but that one or both are omitted in some Precedents, especially those granted of late at *Oxford*. If the last Incumbent be to be named, it will occasion a Question as to some Churches now void, whether he
that

that had the Grant under the Seal, but never any Instalment, nor so much as Institution from the Bishop, shall be reputed the last Dean. For Instance: Dr. *William*^a *Fuller* Dean of *Ely* had the Grant of the Deanery of *Durham*, which was void by the Death of Dr. *Gualter*^b *Balcanquall*; but never took Institution to it; because he would not quit the Deanery of *Ely*. Now supposing, the Plenarty of the Church in this Case

^a Born at *Hadleigh* in *Suffolk* about 1580; bred at *Cambridge*; Chaplain successively to King *James* the First, and King *Charles* the First; Vicar of *St. Giles's Cripplegate*; made Dean of *Ely* Anno 1636, and Dean of *Durham* in *March* 1645, being sequester'd, plunder'd, &c. at *London* he repair'd to *Oxford*, and after that City was surrender'd, return'd to *London*, and living there very obscurely, died *May* 12, 1659, and was interr'd at *St. Vedustus* in *Foster-Lane*. See more of him in *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 19. and *Wood Fasti Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 729.

^b A Scotchman, Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge*; made Master of the *Savoy*, *December* 16, 1617. and soon after Chaplain to King *James* the First, who sent him to the Synod of *Dort*, Anno 1618. to be added to the four *English* Collegues, in the Name of the Church of *Scotland*. He was install'd Dean of *Rocheſter*, *March* 12, 1624, and Dean of *Durham*, *May* 14, 1639; Sequester'd, plunder'd, &c. for his Loyalty in 1642: He fled to the King at *Oxford*, and thence from Place to Place for his Security; and at last for his Life to *Chirk-Castle* in *Denbighſhire*, where he died *December* 25, 1645. See *Wood Fasti Oxon.* Vol. 1. Col. 831. *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 19. *Fuller's Church History*, Cent. xvii. Book x. p. 79. and Dr. *Balcanquall's* Letter to Sir *D. Carlton*. L. Ambassador [in *Holland*] dated *Dort*, *February* 13, 1618. printed among the Letters of Mr. *John Hales* of *Eton College*, &c.

is to be taken from the Institution (as I conceive it must; being unquestionably so in Livings with Cure) then Dr. *Balcanquall* must be reputed the last Dean of *Durham*, and Dr. *Fuller*, of *Ely* (and not Dr. ^c *Beal*, who had the Grant of it, but no Institution to it) and so in the like Cases elsewhere, if any be. All that can be objected is a Thing, wherein I think it my Duty upon this Occasion to give your Lordship as clear Information as I can; because there has been a long rooted Mistake in the Business. The Objection is, that the Grant is a meer Patent, and consequently the Deanery is held of the King immediately *Jure Coronæ*, and not *Jure Ecclesiæ*, as where there is Presentation and Institution: To which I answer, *Non fuit sic ab initio*. At first Deaneries were elective, as Bishopricks are upon a *Congé d' Eslire* (if a ^d common Lawyer misguides me not) and I think it continued thus till *Henry Eighth's* Time, who seeing the Pope's Usurpation upon the Rights of

^c See above, p. 32, 41. See also a farther Account of him *Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2, Col. 729. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 148.*

^d *Hughe's Parsons Law.*

Chapters, by Faculties and *Commendams*, took the Power from both into himself, under the Title of Presentation; which afterwards (if not at first) past in the Form of a mere Patent. In King *James's* Time I find them mingled among the other Patents at the Rolls: But in the Time of the late King *Charles*, they stand upon Record among other Presentations; yet still the Form of a Patent is continued. If I had the absolute Liberty of the Rolls (as I must confess, I have had great Civilities from an honest Man that is still a Clerk there) I could trace the Business clearly to the Fountain; but as the Case is, all I have said is so conjectural, as not to be regarded any farther, than the Grounds here laid will infer; and is not intended to advise any present Alteration, but merely to inform your Lordship, and satisfy his Majesty in a Matter not usually taken Notice of, in case any Alteration may hereafter be thought convenient. Only I must add, that upon discoursing the Point with my Lord of *Ely*, he tells me, the Mistake has been long observed by Archbishop *Neal* ^c, and others; and that they

^c Archbishop of York, translated from *Winchester* in 1631, died October 31, 1640.

were about to give his late Majesty a true Information in it, and petition, that it might be rectified, but were prevented by these late Troubles. And it is now the more considerable; because there have been some ill Consequences of late drawn from it, which gave me the first Hint to enquire into it. For instance, Dr. *Owen*^f retorted upon Dr. *Hammond*, that (even upon his own Principles) he had no Dependence at all upon the Bishop of *Oxford*. And I must confess, I wondered, when I first perused the Grant of the Deanery of *Christ-Church*, and found not the Bishop so much as mentioned in it; wherein I think it differs from every other Church that is a Bishop's See. The Truth is (to use my wonted Boldness) the Bishop is mentioned slightly enough in all other Precedents, but however (as I take it) in all other Places (unless they were Collegiate Churches exempt from ordinary Jurisdiction) the Grant was always presented to the Bishop, from whom the Dean

^f I suppose the famous Dr. *John Owen* (of whom see a large Account, *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 555, &c.*) and probably in his Review of the Annotations of *Hugo Grotius*, &c. printed at *Oxford* 1656, 4^{to}, in answer to Dr. *Hammond*.

received Institution, and then was installed by the Canons, or Prebendaries, upon the Bishop's *Mandat*. I hear it was thus at *Ely*; and I find by the Statutes of the Church of *Durham* (whereof I have a Copy) it must be so there; and I have no Reason to doubt of the rest: So that the last of these four Precedents here inclos'd (which is the King's *Mandat* for Instalment) was I think at first intended only for Collegiate Churches, which are exempt from Episcopal Jurisdiction; though now it is issued forth for Cathedrals also. I have writ it but once over; because *mutatis mutandis* it will serve for all: I had it from an Original, and not at the Rolls; for it stands not there upon Record; because it passes not under the Great Seal, but either a Part of it, or some lesser; being affixt to a small Label cut off from the Parchment at the bottom. All that I shall need to add, as to the Precedent, is, that where I have abbreviated any Thing, it may be supplied from the like Clause in the foregoing Precedent, to avoid unnecessary Trouble.

If your Lordship has receiv'd mine of the eighth past, I shall need to say no more; only it can be no Tautology, to present again
my

my most dutiful Acknowledgment of his Majesty's Goodness, in that good Opinion he hath of me, and my humble Thanks to your Lordship for the great Favours you express continually towards me. If by a Dignity his Majesty means a Prebend, I have one already; if a Deanery, I think I could be most serviceable to the Church of *Durham*; being acquainted with the Statutes and Customs in part, and having two Livings near it to support it, if there should be Need: But if any other Place be thought of more Advantage to this Church in general, or his Majesty's Service in particular, I shall willingly submit to his Command.

The last Letter I receiv'd from—

By this tedious Scribble you see I had rather create Objections, than not prevent all that possibly may be foreseen. There is yet another, which now comes into my Mind; that in case any of the Bishops, to avoid the Work when it comes to the Push, should ask me how it doth appear, that these are the Persons and Places designed by his Majesty; all I can say is, to refer them to Mr. *Allestrey's* Word; unless your Lordship shall be pleased to send a List of them

them in this O^g. I speak not this as though I feared it would be needful, but at all Adventures.

N^o. XIII.

Brussels 29 Sept. 1659.

S I R,

I Am very willing to believe, that though many of my Letters have lain long upon the Way, they are before this Time come safe to your Hands; and that I need not repeat any Thing I have said to you in the Business of the Church; nor can add any Thing to what I have said. The King hath done all that is in his Power to do; and if my Lords the Bishops will not do the rest; what can become of the Church? The Conspiracies to destroy it are very evident; and if there can be no Combination to preserve it; it must expire. I do assure you, the Names of all the Bishops who are alive, and their several Ages, are as well

^g O may not improbably here stand for *Cypher*; and accordingly in N^o. XVI. p. 464. the Chancellor promises Mr. *Barwick*, what he seems here to desire, that he shall receive the List in *Cypher*.

known at *Rome*, as in *England*; and both the Papist and the Presbyterian value themselves very much, upon computing in how few Years the Church of *England* must expire. It may be the Hopes, which this last Summer administered, of seeing some short end of these Confusions, have retarded the Work: But sure the Disappointment of those Hopes ought now to hasten it: And I have the King's Commands, to write very earnestly to you, to speak with the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and by his Advice to press any of the other Bishops in his Majesty's Name, to consecrate those Persons which are designed by his Majesty, who is most confident, that the Bishop of *Ely* will give all the Assistance and Advice, which his Restraint will permit him to do. I have in several Letters told you the King's Pleasure concerning the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*; and that his Majesty willingly approveth of the Consecration of a fit Person for the Isle of *Man*. You cannot send better News, than that this Business is taken to Heart, and that the King shall speedily have a good Account of it: I wish you all Happiness, and am,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd Nov. 10.

Hyde.

N^o.

Nº. XIV.

Brussels Oct. 17. 1659.

S I R,

SINCE my last to you of the 29th of the last Month (inclosed, as I think, to Mr. *Thornton*) I have received your's of the 18th of *August*, which lay so very long on the Way, that there is no Occasion of replying to many Particulars in it: only I hope that you continue your Solicitation with your Friends (and they their Zeal) both in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And without doubt, if there be a good Disposition there, they shall be visited from Abroad with such Assistance, as may encourage them; and if *Monk* can be brought to any Frankness, and will give any Encouragement to it, I doubt not but the King, or one of his Brothers, will be able to go to him, or near his Quarters, with a considerable Power; but it were well he would express himself, that he may be depended upon.

I hope *Venables* was not engaged in the Business of *Chester*; because I do not find him named in any of the Prints; but I

would be glad to know from you, where he is, and how his Interest and Resolution stands. I shall say only a Word to you concerning Ecclesiastical Preferments; that there is no Deanery in *England*, (*Westminster* excepted, which his Majesty hath in Truth designed to a Person^h of very known and confessed Merit) that the King hath in the least Degree made Promise of to any Man; so that it will be your Friend's Fault (who I am sure will not be guilty of it) if you are not very well provided; and if my Lord of *Ely* had prevailed with you to have taken the Bishoprick of *Man*, I am confident the King would not have suffered you to have continued there long, after your Removal could have been avowed. For the Truth is, the King hath a very extraordinary Sense of your Merit towards him and the Church. I wish you would once send the blessed News, that that Affair is taken to Heart, and provided for as it ought to be. I did once in some former Letter offer you some Considerations, which I thought of Moment in the Point; and my Opinion

^h Most probably Dr. *John Earle* made Dean soon after the Restoration, and removed to the See of *Worcester*, Nov. 30, 1662.
would

would be the same, if I were confident, that the King could land this Winter in *England* with twenty thousand Men : For assure your self, those Princes, who think Episcopacy of the Essence of Christian Religion, would yet be very glad to see it determined, and expired in *England*.

I do beseech you, present my humble Service to my Lord of *Ely*, whose Benediction I do hope to live to receive at his own Feet. I pray send me Word, our sick ⁱ Friend is in perfect Health. I am,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

N^o. XV.

Nov. 21, 1659. Brussels.

S I R,

I Have by this last Post receiv'd your's of the 14th, which hath been kept on your side of the Water, by Reason of the Troubles within, full three Weeks ; and I have

ⁱ See above, p. 404.

since that receiv'd another from you under Mr. ^k *Rumbald's* Cover without a Date, which I conceive was writ about the 26th or 27th, to all which I shall answer in order.

I am very glad you find the Baronet ¹ so well resolved. I have writ for a Letter for him, which I shall send to you, as soon as it comes to my Hands. I am glad you have an Interest in Mr. *Chichly*, who is a very worthy Person, and my good Friend. If you find him startled, or unsatisfied with the Jealousy that he finds there is of Sir *Richard Willis* ^m, of whom I know he hath had heretofore an extraordinary good Opinion; you will easily persuade him, that it is not possible for the King to lose the Service of one he hath trusted so far, upon an easy and a light Suspicion; which the King's Nature is as far from, as any Vice: Therefore he must conclude, that his Majesty hath sufficient Evidence to make him forbid his Friends, to have any Commerce with him.

^k In the Chancellor's original Letters, his Name is always written *Rumball*, but Dr. *Barwick* writing it *Rumbaldus* in the Latin Life (p. 157, 172,) I conclude it to be the same Name that is commonly written *Rumbald* or *Rombald*, and do therefore write it so.

¹ Sir *Henry Yelverton* I suppose. See above, p. 209, 212.

^m See above, Note ^p p. 185.

I am sure I need not bespeak your Care, in this Conjunction, which requires it, for the Negotiation with *Monk*; nor could there be any Danger in the other Design of interfering; and you well know, your Friend did always wish, that it might first be proposed to him by another. Mr. *Rumbald* will be able to inform you from Time to Time, what Progress is made the other Way; and so you will easily help one another. I do confess to you, this present Engagement looks, as if he had somewhat else in his Mind, than to vindicate a Power, that is not in being: However that only can be the Purpose of Sir *Arthurⁿ Haslerig*. I do hope this Change may restore your Friend in *Ireland* to Power again; however, that he will have an Opportunity to do any good he hath a Mind to.

Though a Consumption be a very melancholy Disease; yet I am glad that it is no

ⁿ One of the famous five Members of the House of Commons, whom the King went and demanded of the House as Traytors, and afterwards by his Attorney General accus'd of High Treason, together with the Lord *Kimbolton* of the House of Peers. He was afterwards a considerable Commander in the Parliament Army, and one of the Chiefs of the Independent Republican Party.

^o Colonel *Redman*.

worse with Colonel *Venables*; and if you get him up to the Town, I doubt not but you will make very good Use of him. If Sir *Thomas Middleton* comes into these Parts, we shall all make very much of him, and do him all the Service we can, as he very well deserves; but I believe he may from this Change, and what probably may follow it, find Encouragement to stay in *England*, where his Reputation is so great. I know not what to say of your Fancy of a Neutrality in the inland Countries; of which wise and honest Men upon the Place can only make a Judgment. There is no Question, it would be well for the King, if there were very many Parties up in the Kingdom upon several Interests and Pretences; but it will be a very hard Matter for any Persons of known Integrity, not to have their Intentions concluded, whatever their Professions are: Besides they will be in Danger of that fatal Division in Point of Command, which hath destroyed us so often: And I pray God, that even the King's own Commissions in that kind may compose Men to an Obedience and Submission; but, I say, they upon the Place can be only good Judges of it; and I am very glad

you have a Friendship with Mr. *Rumbald*, who upon Communication will be able to give you much Information and Advice. I know not what to add to what I have so often said concerning the Business of the Church; the Accidents of every Day making the Work more difficult; which if they are not sensible enough of, who can only prevent the Mischief; I hope God Almighty will work one Miracle more for the preserving his Church; as he did many for the establishing it. The *English* Letters are now come, without any from you; which I am sorry for in this Conjunction, when there are so many good Things worth our knowing. I find in the relation of *Monk's* Proceedings, your ^p Friend mentioned as a principal Counsellor of his, and preferred by him; which I am heartily glad of; and hope that he will by Degrees prevail with the other so to declare himself, that he may be easily superior to *Lambert* in Numbers; which yet I doubt he is not. I wish either of them had once done any of those Actions, as would make them irreconcilable to each

^p Colonel *Clobery*.

other,

other, and that some Blood were spilt between them. I am persuaded the King is by this Time with his Face this Way; for the Peace being signed, the Ministers were to part the 15th of this Month; and then the King intended to return nearer Home, being very well satisfied with the Kindness he hath received; and Letters being come away Post for *Dunkirk* upon the News of the Army's Proceedings, and before our last Letter came from thence; yet he was not arrived at *Dunkirk* two Days since. I wish you all Happiness, and am very heartily,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

Since the writing of this, I have receiv'd both your's of the 28th and 31st of the last Month: But that with the Precedents is not yet come; nor have I time by this Conveyance, to reply to all the Particulars in your's; but I am amazed, that you had not then all those Letters from me, which had layn so long in *Ireland* for a Wind; and I wonder

wonder the more at it ; because I have received a Letter from Sir *Abraham Shipman*, since his Arrival, who had, I think, two Letters for you ; and the rest were sent by a Gentlewoman, who went in his Company, Mrs. *Ross*, directed to Mr. *Cooper* ; so that Sir *Abraham* will be very well able to retrieve them : And in those, I am sure, I have satisfied many of the Particulars in your's, especially those concerning the Church. I think my last to you was under the same Cover, which will put this into your Hand. I will not fail to morrow to write to the King, all that you wish concerning Sir *Thomas Middleton*, of whom I know his Majesty will have a singular Esteem ; and for my part, I think him fittest to have the entire Command of those Parts, and to chuse such Officers under him, as he would judge most proper for the Business ; and I wish with all my Heart, the Lieutenant General of the same Name were with him, who tho' a *Scotchman*, is no more a Presbyterian than you and I ; and is indeed a Man of great Honour and Honesty, and in very little Favour with his Countrymen. If you can get the Money of Mr. *Grigson*, or any other Money, you may very safely pay the Assigna-
tion

tion to *Grig* out of it; and then I pray deliver thirty Pound to Mr. *Rumbald*, to be given to Major *Wood*, whom we shall send over from hence within a few Days. I can assure you, that the King hath so just a Sense of the inevitable Consequences of the Universities being well or ill provided for in Point of Government, that when the Time comes, he will manifest his great Care in that Particular, especially concerning *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*; which if I had not looked upon, rather as the Government of a College, and so forgotten it as a Deanery; I could have told you, the King hath designed it to a Person [¶], who your sick [†] Friend will tell you, is every Way equal to it. And I do assure you, that the King is not more fixt in any Principle, than in the Belief, that the Church can never be restored and repaired by any Expedient, but the Learning, Virtue, and Reputation of the Churchmen: And he will be so careful in making that Provision, that I have heard him often say, that he would abhor that Churchman, who would give the least Sum of Money

[¶] Dr. *Morley* install'd Feb. 27, 1660. See N^o. xxviii.

[†] See above, p. 404.

for the greatest Preferment, and turn away that Servant, who would endeavour to get Money that Way : And I think him as unlike to swerve from that Resolution, as ever Prince was. God send our good sick ^fFriend perfect Health, and preserve it to my Lord of *Ely*, that he may live to help in the Repairing of the Ruins, that are made : I have not Time to add more.

Receiv'd *Nov.* 20.

N^o. XVI.

Brussels Nov. 28; 1659.

S I R,

I Have by this last Post your's of the 11th two Days since, and Yesterday those of the 13th and 14th of *September*, and the third of this Month together, by the long Way ; so that I think now our Accounts are even, and that all mine to you, and your's to me are safely delivered. I shall not (indeed I cannot, in point of Time) reply to all those Particulars in your several good Dispatches ;

^f See above, p. 404.

but shall only mention what is applicable to present Use: But I give you very hearty Thanks for the whole Information and Instruction, of which I shall always make the most Advantage I can for the Publick. I can say no more with Reference to the Church, but that if there be nothing hinders it but the Winter, it will be quickly over, whilst Preparations are making; and yet God knows, it will be almost a Miracle, if the Winter doth not take away half the Bishops that are left alive; and I must still lament, that some Way is not found, that the Bishop of *Ely* may be at Liberty; which would carry on this Work more, than any Expedient I can think of. Concerning any Assurance we have, of any Consent from the Persons named, to undergo the Charge design'd to them, I can give you no Satisfaction; not knowing, that any one of them hath been communicated with to that Purpose: And I have always been of the Opinion, that the Method you say was observed by Bishop *Andrews*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, is the right; and if I could help it, if the King were at *Whitehall* to morrow, he should never prefer any Man in the Church, who sought it: And I think I have Reason

to believe, the King is of that Mind. The Care that was taken in the Nomination of those, who were sent to you, was that fit Men might be appointed; nothing being so evident, as the Conclusion you alledge, that nothing but the great Merit of Churchmen can buoy up the Church; yet upon all the Particulars it was thought, that they were Men like to submit to the King's Determination. And it was always concluded, that some Means would be found there, to persuade them to do their Duties; and some Insinuation, that Dr. *Laney*^t would be very unwilling to submit to it, was the Cause, that he was left out; as the Consideration of Age and Disability to travel, was the Cause, that Dr. *Sanderson*^u was not na-

^t Most probably Dr. *Benjamin Laney* Master of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, *Prebendary of Winchester and Westminster*, and *Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles the First*; who for his eminent Loyalty and great Sufferings in the Time of the Rebellion, was upon the Restoration first made *Dean of Rochester*, *July 24, 1660*; then *Bishop of Peterborough*, *December 2^d the same Year*, with Liberty to hold his *Mastership in Commendam*. Thence translated to *Lincoln March 1, 1662*, and thence to *Ely May 24, 1667*, and died at the end of 1674. Of whom see a farther Account, *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 828.* and *Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part 2. p. 153.*

^u No doubt he means the great Casuist Dr. *Robert Sanderson*, afterwards *Bishop of Lincoln*, whose Life you have prefixt to his Sermons published by *Bishop Walton*. See also *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 113, &c.*

med : And we were then informed, that Dr. *Mansel*^x was in very good Health, and that he lived still in *Oxford*. If it be otherwise, and that his Age and Infirmities make him unfit, he must be dispensed with : Secretary *Nicholas* and I consulted together of his y Brother ; and he was, and is confident, that he will depart from the Resolution, which his Fortune and his Inclination might tempt him to, and wholly resign himself to the King's Pleasure ; and therefore, if you please, let Dr. *Henchman*^z acquaint him with it, and know his Mind. As soon as the King returns (which will now be, I am confident, within less than twenty Days) you shall receive the List in Cypher, under his Majesty's own Hand, which was delivered by himself to Mr. *Allestrey* : But methinks, if some of them should refuse, or all of them, to come together, course might be taken, to consecrate as many as are ready : But of all this Judgment must be made upon the Place. I am sorry my Lord of *Ely* will not com-

* See N^o. xii. p. 438.

y Dr. *Matthew Nicholas*, afterwards Dean of *St. Paul's*. See above, Note ' p. 305.

z See above, p. 342.

mend any particular Person; but it is absolutely necessary, that by Communication with him, and the other of your Friends, you return hither a List of such worthy Men, as are fit for those Charges, and not like to decline them; and of the Number the King may chuse as he pleases. There is indeed too much Reason to doubt, that if the Crown were restored to morrow, the Church would not be in many Years repaired; yet I hope it would not be in so miserable a Condition, as you suppose; and that the publick and general Piety of the Nation will contribute to the Repairing of those Defacings and Ruins, which the general Madnes and Impiety hath dishonour'd the Nation with. And truly I am of Opinion, that the Church will be either totally ruined (towards which there is too great a Conspiracy between Persons, who agree in nothing else) or else, that it will be restor'd to a great Lustre. For all Discourses of the Treaty at the Isle of *Wight* trouble me little; though it comes mentioned sometimes to us by those, who pretend no Disaffection to the Church; and who pretend all shall be repaired again afterwards. But as I am confident, the King

will never endure it: so if he should consent to it, it can never be reduc'd into Practice, or a Peace be establish'd in the Kingdom by it. I look every Day to receive the King's Letter for the *Northamptonshire*^a Gentlemen, which I will dispatch to you as soon as it comes. I have in some of my late Letters desir'd you to accept of that Composition with Mr. *Grigson*, which is very well made; and that out of it you give poor *Greg* the Sum I formerly mention'd to you: And I beseech you, take it as a general Rule once for all, that whatever you shall find necessary to disburse for the King's Service, for the Relief of any honest Man, who hath merited from him, and is in great and unsupportable Want; his Majesty will very willingly allow it, and thank you for the seasonable Charity: And if it be now in your Power, I wish you would supply Sir *Theophilus Gilby* (who is a very honest Man, and to whom Mr. *Thorneton* can transmit the Favour) with twenty or thirty Pounds. And it is heartily wished, that out of such Moneys, as are collected

^a Sir *Henry Telverton*. See above, p. 209, 212.

for charitable Uses, Care might be taken of such Persons, who are in Misery in Prisons, for no other Crime than their Loyalty; and amongst such, I hear Sir *Gervais Lucas* is in *Newgate* in great Extremity, who hath serv'd the King very honestly. He is a very melancholy Man, and very uneasy to himself; and therefore I wish, if you knew any body that is acquainted with him, that he should be a little refreshed, and comforted with Conversation; and that he should know, the King is not without a Sense of his Condition. I shall let his Majesty know to morrow, of the hundred Pounds you have transmitted to Sir *Thomas Bond*. I cannot but be very glad, that your ^b Friend is one of those, who is sent up from *Monk* to treat; because you will be able to make such Impressions in him, as may both dispose him, and enable him to dispose *Monk*; who if he be well inclin'd, may be sure of Assistance, before he can be compelled to fight. And I cannot but hope, that some Account is given from him to the King himself; though you and I do not

^b Colonel *Clobery*.

know of it. I will be sure to write to-morrow for those Letters to your two Friends; and I believe I shall know the next Week the very Day when the King will be here: And I may tell you, his Majesty is very much deceiv'd himself, if both Crowns are not fully resolv'd to assist him. I shall not hereafter make use of the Conveyance by Sea; nor will expect any Thing by it, except such Books, as may be worth the sending, and are too big for the Post: I cannot tell you, I have no more to say; for I am confident I forget many Things; but I am sure, by that Time this is done, it will be Time to make up my Packet. You will say all from me of Kindness and Respect to those, with whom you converse; and believe that I am very heartily, and will give you Cause to think, I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

^c Colonel *Clobery*, and Mr. *Otway*. See p. 188, 228. and N^o, xix.

N^o. XVII.

Oct. 5, 1659. *Brussels*.

S I R,

SINCE my last to you on this Day Se-
 vennight, by the same Conveyance
 that will, I hope, bring this to your Hands,
 I am accountable to you for three of your's;
 that of the 7th and the 14th, which came to
 me together by the last *French* Post, and
 your other of the 18th of the last Month,
 which I receiv'd with Mr. *Rumbald's*. To
 the first I need say little, but that you must
 impute it to the King's being in his Jour-
 ney, that you do not receive the Letter for
Northamptonshire. He is by this Time at
Paris; and there I am confident he will
 write it, and from thence send it to you or
 me. I am still in hope (though only upon
 the Reason of it) that if *Monk* hath any
 Inclination to serve the King, he finds some
 Way to inform his Majesty of it; and then
 he would in Time receive any Assistance or
 Countenance he can wish, even by the
 King's own Presence, or his Brother's: And
 I am confident, he will receive all the En-
 couragement *France* can give him. I am

of the Opinion, his Majesty will be here the next Week, or very soon after. I do not think any of our Friends will rise, till they have some Countenance from one of the Parties; and I observe, by what you say, that *Monk* is much less Master, than I thought him to have been, of his own Army; yet he may quickly make himself stronger, if he take the right Way; whereas, methinks, otherwise he stands in a very fair Way speedily to be broken; and his own Army will give him up. I confess I do not like the present Posture he is in. And this Agreement, how extravagant a one soever it be, will have for some Time the Reputation of a Settlement; till some new Breach appears, which should be hastened all that is possible. I know not what to propose; and I perceive very well, that you are very vigilant to do all that can be done: And you are a better Judge of that, than I can be, at this Distance. How comes it to pass, that *Tinmouth* was not possessed by *Monk*, if Sir *Arthur Haslerig* had the Command of it, who, I suppose, is with *Monk*? However, I am sure, he cannot be compelled to fight, if he hath no Mind to it; and may break *Lambert's* Army, if it shall press him.

him. You say nothing to me of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, where he is, and what he intends. Here was a Gentleman the last Week, Colonel *Whitley*, who importuned me so much, and undertook to know, that it would not be unacceptable to Sir *Thomas*, that I writ half a dozen Lines of Kindness only to him, which he deserves abundantly from us all. I pray inform me, whether *Chester* be dismantled, according to the Order of the Parliament, and what is become of Colonel *Venables*. I hear the *Lancashire* Gentlemen are as full of Spirit as ever, and promise great Things. Do not Sir *Henry Vane*, and Major *Saloway* act with the Committee of Safety as much as any? Which I ask, because I have seen a Letter, as if they had taken some Offence, and refus'd to bear a part in the Government, and that *Fleetwood* is neither satisfied with *Monk*, nor *Lambert*. I hope we shall shortly see more clearly through all. I have not Time at present to add more, but that I am very heartily,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd Dec. 19.

Hyde.

N^o. XVIII.*Brussels, Dec. 26, 1659.*

S I R,

Y^Our's of the 2^d came to my Hands by this last Post, which it should have done by the Post before; but that is none of your Fault. If mine have found the right Way to you, you have had (since that of the 28th of the last Month, which you acknowledge) another of the 5th of this Month; since which Time, finding the Obstruction in our Communication, I have only writ to Mr. *Wright*, without troubling you. I shall not at present enlarge upon the Business of the Church more, than that I am persuaded, that his Majesty will not be forward to dispose of those Livings with Cures; having not yet, I think, made promise to any one in *England*. I pray, let honest Mr. *Thorneton* know, that I write to him this Day by the same Conveyance, by which I received his last; which, I believe, will come to his Hands within few Days after this. Since I writ thus far, the King is arrived with us, to our great Joy. You will
not

not believe, that I have yet had Time enough with him, to speak about those Acquittances, of which you shall receive some Account by the next: And this very Minute Mr. *Allestrey* is come to us, and hath given me your's of the 5th, which I have not yet Time to decypher; but I am confident, we shall within a Day or two dispatch some body towards you, by whom you shall not fail of an Account of all that is necessary from,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *Jan. 2.*

Hyde.

N^o. XIX.

To Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Otway.

Brussels, Jan. 8, 1660.

THE Person ^e through whose Hands this comes to you, hath enough informed me of your great Affection and Zeal
to

^e *Mr. Barwick, who having acquainted the King of Mr. Otway's*

to my Service, and of the Pains ^e you have taken to advance it, of which you may be confident I have the Sense I ought to have.

I have writ to your ^f Friend, which you will deliver to him, and use your Interest in him, that he may take my Business to Heart, and pursue it with his utmost Industry and Dexterity. I hope the Issue will be good for us all; and you will find, that I can never forget your Part, and that I shall always be

Your affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

Otway's Readiness to serve his Majesty in the Matter propos'd to him (p. 188. where in the Margin read *Append. N^o. XIX.*) when it was Time for him to enter upon that Service, his Majesty writes the two Letters here mentioned, which the Chancellor sends to Mr. *Barwick*, (p. 228.) where by the Date of the Chancellor's Letter, but four Days later than this of the King's, this plainly appears to be one of the King's Letters there mention'd, where p. 229. lin. 6. read *Append. N. XX.*

^e On the backside of the Copy which was given me of this Letter, and seems to have been taken many Years since, among other Minutes relating to this Gentleman's great Services, it is observed, that he made it his Business seven Years together to bring over his two Brothers-in-Law to the King's Interest; and that the whole Design of *Monk's* Army coming against *Lambert*, and *Redman's* joining *Monk* with the *Irish* Brigade then lying in *Yorkshire*, was laid and contrived at his Chambers in *Grey's-Inn*, between him and his two Brothers-in-Law, without the Privity of any one but Mr. *Barwick*.

^f Colonel *Clobery*, to whom Mr. *Otway* was then going into *Scotland*.

N^o. XX.Jan. 12, 1660, *Brussels.*

S I R,

MY last to you was of the 26th of the last Month under Mr. *Wright's* Cover, since which Time I have received your's of the 5th of the last Month to me, and another of the same Date to the King, another of the 9th, and another of the 16th; and yet I do conclude there is another upon the Way, to which the last refers. I shall speak to all the Particulars in Order, and enlarge upon them by Discourse with Mr. *Allestrey*, where it is necessary: Because in that of the 5th to me you mention Sir *Thomas Middleton*; I will in this Place say all that occurs with Reference to him; and tell you, that about a Month since Colonel *Whitley* was here: having been with Sir *Thomas* in the Business of *Chester*, he made very ample Relations of the Actions of Sir *Thomas*, and pressed me very earnestly to write to him, as a Thing that would not be unacceptable to him; and I was easily persuaded to it; having in truth an extraordinary Esteem for Sir *Thomas*, upon what he hath lately done, and what you have said of him. Since Colonel *Whitley's* Departure, Colonel *Worden*

is

is arriv'd here, who makes some Relations; which I do not understand; as if Colonel *Whitley* had in the late Action pretended to be sent, with a Commission from the King, to command Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Horse, as Major-General; which I never heard of before, and am sure he had no such Commission from the King. On the other Hand, we have many Intimations from Friends in *London*, as if Colonel *Worden* were thought not to have done his Duty. They both speak very worthily of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and pretend great Trust from him; and the latter hath a very large Testimonial, signed by many Persons of Honour and Reputation, and amongst those by Sir *Thomas Middleton* himself or his Son, as if they desired to have none else employed to them. Indeed the Testimonial is so large, as if it were provided to answer Objections, and to redeem an injured Reputation. The other Colonel is, I doubt not, a Man of very entire Affections to the King's Service; yet possibly may be infected with the Disease of the Time, to believe, that he knows best the Ways to advance it; and thereupon may assume Trusts, which he hath not. Therefore I pray, speak freely with Sir *Thomas Middleton*,

Middleton, and know his Opinion of both these Gentlemen, that we may know the better, and answer this Matter particularly. It will not be an easy Matter to send over any Men to North *Wales* from these Parts; and I hope, when the Business is on Foot in other Places, North *Wales* will be able to declare upon its own Strength: And if Sir *Thomas Middleton* can make himself Master of *Shrewsbury*, having so good a back, it would be an excellent Post.

I send you herewith two Letters, &c. to pursue it effectually, as printed above, p. 228, 229.

The King is glad *Redman* is gone for *Ireland*; where somewhat will be done, when the Work is begun in *England*; otherwise I do not suppose, that much can be done there to any Purpose. I do not understand * *Ludlow's* Part in this Business, nor to which Party he is inclined.

I cannot fully enough reply to your's of the 16th; because, as you observe your self, I cannot enough understand it, without seeing the other Letter, to which you say it is a Postscript; and that is not yet come to

* See above, p. 377. &c.

my Hands ; but I did in mine of *Friday*, to Mr. *Rumbald*, say all that occurs to us here, upon Consideration of this ensuing Parliament ; which I need not repeat ; because I know he will communicate it to you. I hope it will never be suffered to meet ; since it appears absolutely destructive to some Interests, and to provide for the Security of none ; and if it be convened upon the Fundamentals mentioned in the Print, I do not see, how any body, who wisheth well to the King, can give the least Countenance to it, let the Hope of future Distractions from it be what it will. You may be confident, that the Moment of the Court of Wards to all Purposes, is so well understood, that all Care shall be taken, which the Temper of the Time will bear ; and that Temper may appear in a short Time to be different from what it is at present. I cannot enough wonder, that many of our Friends, who heretofore might reasonably believe, that it was very necessary for them to be in as much Retreat as it was possible, and to keep themselves from the least Suspicion of Activity against a Power, which was unquestionably able to sacrifice them to its Jealousy or Displeasure :

I say, I wonder, that those very Men, who I presume are still entire in their Principles, should not now think it seasonable to consult together, how to make the right Use of these Divisions and Distractions, and by conferring with other Persons of Honour and Quality (who have been of other Parties, and are sufficiently punished for having been so) find a Way, how to provide for their own, and their Country's Security and Happiness; and to prevent that sharp Remedy, which in curing the Disease, may kill the Patient. I do heartily wish, that our sick ^h Friend (who I hope hath by this Time recovered a good Degree of Strength) were now in *London*, as well for Temporal as Spiritual Considerations; and I believe, he would find Opportunity to do good with some Persons, who are never to be approached but by Men, if not of their own chusing, yet of those, in whom they have entire Confidence.

Since I writ this, I have received your's of the 16th, which should have come to me the last Week; and by Letters of a later

^h See above, p. 404.

Date, I see so great a Change in all your Affairs, that I know not what to say. But if the *Rump* be re-established, and with that Reputation and Triumph, it seems to carry with it; we have mistaken our Measures, and are for the present cast farther back, than we had Reason to fear, and must look about us, till we can see more Light; but I have yet some Hope from the Temper of the City, which see their Slavery again at their Door, and from the Despair of *Lambert*, and those who have adhered to him; of all which we shall see the Effects very quickly; as I believe you do at this Time see the utmost, that can be expected from either.

Give me leave in a Word, before I conclude, to ask you a Question concerning a young Gentleman, the Son of a good Father Mr. *Wickham*ⁱ, a Fellow of *King's* College in *Cambridge*. I have seen him, and then
he

ⁱ *Henry Wickham*, D. D. 1628 (Son of Dr. *William Wickham*, successively Bishop of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*), was Scholar of *King's* College in *Cambridge*, Anno 1608, and accordingly Fellow, as his Father had been, and lived there for some Time Fellow Commoner, after he had left his Fellowship, by Reason of his Preferments: He was Rector of *Bedall* and *Bolton-Perry* in *Yorkshire*, Prebendary of *Southwell*, Residentiary and Archdeacon

he accidentally mentioned you, as a Person to whom he was well known ; and seemed to know, that you hold Correspondence with me. I have never since heard from him, or of him ; therefore, I pray, let me know what your Opinion is of him, and where he is. Since this was writ, which I intended Mr. *Allestrey* should have brought to you, the King hath received your's of the 19th of *December* ; to which there is no Occasion to reply ; since my Lord *Mordaunt*^k, who takes the Charge of this, can enlarge upon all Particulars. Mr. *Allestrey* stays to be sent upon

deacon of *York*, and Chaplain to King *Charles* the First. This Account I have of him from Mr. *Hatcher's* Catalogue of the Scholars, &c. of King's College in *Cambridge*, and a Continuation of it by other Hands. But it is some Abatement of his Character here, that I do not find him in any of his Preferments among Dr. *Walker's* *Suffering Clergy*. His Son (enquired of here, and mentioned again N^o. XXVI.) was afterwards Dr. *Tobias Wickham*, install'd Dean of *York*, *March* 31, 1677. He could not be very young when this Letter was written, having been one of the Proctors of the University of *Cambridge* in the Year 1649, then, it seems, Fellow of *Trinity Hall* there. (*Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Anglic. p. 404.*) He died *Anno* 1697. (*ibid. p. 316.*) I suppose at *York*, and was interr'd in that Cathedral.

^k *John* (second Son to *John* first Earl of *Peterborough*) who in 1648 raising Forces under the Earl of *Holland* for rescuing King *Charles* the First out of the Hands of the Rebels, and hazarding himself again in 1658 for the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, in Reward of his Loyalty, was by Letters Patents, bearing Date *July* 10th (11. *Car.* 2.) advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Mor-*

upon the next Occasion. The King's Letter with A upon it¹: the other for his Friend Colonel *Clobery*: you will dispose of them accordingly. I am,

Sir,

Your very affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *Jan.* 12.

Hyde.

N^o. XXI.

Brussels Jan. 14, 1660.

S I R,

IF my Lord *Mordaunt* be arrived (as I hope he is) you have received an Answer to all I had upon my Hand from you; and since his Departure, I have not heard

daunt of *Rygate* in the County of *Surrey*, and of Viscount *Avallon* in *Somerſetſhire* (*Dugd. Bar. Vol. 2. p. 312.*) On the Death of his elder Brother, *Henry* Earl of *Peterborough*, without Issue Male; he ſucceeded alſo to that Honour, and was Father to *Charles* the preſent Earl, by *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Thomas Cary*, ſecond Son to *Robert* Earl of *Monmouth*; on which Account, upon the Failure of that Title, he was created alſo Earl of *Monmouth*, *Anno* 1689. *British Compend. Vol. 1. p. 102, 103.*

¹ What is here wanting, I take to be the Words following [*is for Mr. Otway.*]

from you : This is only to send (which was not ready when he departed) the Commission^m for Sir *Thomas Middleton* to be Commander in Chief of the Counties of *North Wales*. What is to be done with Reference to the Proposition concerning *Shrewsbury*, must be left to my Lord *Mordaunt*, and the rest of the Commissioners, to adjust: If it were included in his Commission, it must draw that whole County likewise under his Power and Command; and how that will suit with the good Acceptance of my Lord *Newport*ⁿ, and the rest of the Commissioners of that Country, is not hard to guess; and yet no doubt, they will be glad of any sure Way to take *Shrewsbury*, and

^m See a Copy of it, N^o. XXII.

ⁿ *Francis*, eldest Son of Sir *Richard Newport* of *High Ercall* in *Shropshire*, who for his great Services to King *Charles* the First, had by Letters Patents bearing Date at *Bridgenorth*, October 14, 1642, been advanced to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord *Newport* of *High Ercall*, and dying February 8, 1650 at *Moulins* in *France*, whither he had retired from the Violence of the Usurpation, was succeeded in that Honour by this Lord *Francis*, who had been also in Arms for the King, till taken Prisoner Anno 1644, for which Services, after the Restoration he was made Comptroller, and then Treasurer of the King's Household, and afterwards Viscount *Newport* of *Bradford* in *Shropshire*, by Letters Patents bearing Date (11 March 27. Car. 2.) and after the Revolution Earl of *Bradford*, Anno 1694, and was Father to *Richard* the present Earl. *Dugd. Bar. Vol. 2. p. 467. British Compend. Vol. 1. p. 153.*

to have so good a Neighbour in *North Wales*, as *Sir Thomas Middleton*: Therefore there is no Way to prevent all Jealousies and Mistakes, but by bringing my Lord *Newport*, or *Andrew Newport* °, and *Sir Thomas Middleton* together; who will easily agree and prosecute any noble Design, and secure one another; and this *Mr. Rumbald* and you will easily bring to pass. We keep *Mr. Allestrey* for a few Days, for the next Dispatch after the next Letters.

God keep you, and,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd 26.

Hyde;

N^o. XXII.

(L. S.) *Charles R.*

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty

° *Francis Lord Newport's* younger Brother.

and well beloved

We do by these Presents appoint and constitute you to be Commander in Chief of all Forces, which are or shall be raised for our Service, within our Counties of

giving you full Power and Authority to order, conduct, and command the same, in all Things according to the Laws and Customs of War; and therewith to fight, kill, and destroy all, who are, or shall be in Arms against us; and to seize on any Forts or Places in Rebellion against us within our said Counties, and to keep and defend the same for us, and in our Name; and to do and execute all Acts and Powers belonging to the Duty and Office of a Commander in Chief, appointed to command the Forces of those our said Counties: And We hereby require all Majors Generals, Colonels, and other inferior Officers and Soldiers under you, to obey you as Commander in Chief of the Forces of the said Counties; and you are to be obedient to all such Orders, as you shall receive from us: For all which this our Commission shall be your sufficient Warrant, to continue in Force, till we shall signify our Pleasure to the contrary.

trary. Given at our Court at *Bruxelles* this 14th Day of *January* 1660, in the eleventh Year of our Reign.

N^o. XXIII. .

Jan. 16, 1660. Brussels.

S I R,

THIS is the third Letter I have written to you within three Days ; and probably they may come all to your Hand together. Since mine of yesterday, I have received your's of the 23^d of *December*, under Mr. *Rumbald's* Cover ; and by what Conveyance I know not, being now disappointed of that which served us so long. I shall not say any Thing more concerning Sir *Thomas Middleton*, but to tell you, that since mine of ^p yesterday, in which I sent you his Commission, I have received a very civil Letter from him, in answer to mine. I need not desire you to confirm his Son in those worthy Principles, with which he is possessed ; and to assure him of the King's Kindness, which he may be very confident

^p The Day, I suppose, before Yesterday, viz. *Jan. 14.* N^o. XXII.

of. I do not conceive it probable, as I have told you in former Letters, that the Business of *North Wales* will ever be begun, by sending Force from Abroad thither; being at a great Distance from any Place we can hope to transport: But if there be a want of Arms there, and Sir *Thomas Middleton* can appoint any Place, where they may be with Security delivered and received; all shall be done from hence, that is possible. When I mentioned Lieutenant General *Middleton*^a to you, I did it only, as a Wish of my own; knowing him to be a Person of very great Honour, and very entire Principles; not with the least thought of recommending any Man, but those whom Sir *Thomas Middleton* himself shall desire or chuse; and if he shall desire, that the King will send him, or any other, I presume his Majesty will do it. I am heartily sorry, the good old Man feels the Infirmities of Age; yet I hope he will live to see the King at *Whitehall*. I am very heartily, Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd 26.

Hyde.

^a See above, p. 459.

N^o. XXIV.*Jan. 22, 1660. Brussels.**S I R,*

I Have two Days since received your's of the 2^d of this Month, by the Way of *France*; and since that, your other to the King, and to my self, by the usual Conveyance, which will, I am told, be hereafter as secure again, as it was heretofore; and therefore I shall use it to morrow, to Mr. *Rumbald*. I will not inlarge upon the Death of the Bishop of *Exeter*; because I will charge Mr. *Allestrey* with that Discourse, in which I can use no Patience. If that Bishop were long sick, I would be glad to hear, how he expressed himself to those Friends who were about him, in those Particulars, in which he suffered in his Reputation, of not being zealous enough for the Church. Mr. *Allestrey* is commanded by the King, to go in his Name to any of the Bishops, upon such Errands, as my Lord of *Ely*, and my Lord of *Salisbury* shall judge fit. If his Majesty doth not write by this Opportunity

Opportunity to the Earl of *Derby* ^r, it is for want of Time; for his Majesty received his Letter but this Morning, and I am sure will write to him by the next. I wish he may keep his Liberty, and fall no more into those Men's Hands. If there be any Thing to be done suddenly in that County, Mr. *Rumbald* can furnish you with Commissions of all Kinds that shall be necessary: And I am of Opinion, it were well those Commissions were put into the proper Hands in the Counties, as soon as may be; which would enable them the better to model and direct their Designs, against a fit Conjunction; and in the mean Time, there need not be above two or three in a County consulted with. If my Lord *Mordaunt* be with you, you have received the King's two Letters for your two ^r Friends; and I long very much to hear, what they both think of *Monk*; who, I hope, hath not with that Formality disclaimed the King in the Head of every Regiment, as, I hear Sir *Arthur* ^r *Haslerig* reports.

^r See above, p. 207.

^r Colonel *Clobery* and Mr. *Otway*. See above, p. 188, 228, and N^o. XIX.

^r See above, p. 455.

I should

I should be glad to find, that our Friends in *Northamptonshire* have done themselves no Harm by their late Motions; and that as many honest Men get into the House upon the new Elections, as is possible. These quick Revolutions, without a broken Head, do so astonish all People Abroad, that if the *Rump* sit any Time without new Confusion, it will get Reputation abroad, and be acknowledged by their Neighbours, as a settled Republick. The King left an Acquittance with Sir *Thomas Bond* for the two hundred Pounds; but since you desire a distinct Acquittance for each Sum, I send them here to you; and you may make use of the other, upon another Occasion. I pray remember me very kindly to Mr. *Cholmeley* as my good Friend, of whom I have a great Esteem. *Grig. Palden* laments his Condition to me, which I know not how otherwise to remedy, than by recommending him to you, as I have formerly done; presuming that when you have Money, you will assist him. I would fain hear, that our sick^t Friend

^t See above, p. 404.

is perfectly recovered. God send us once well to meet. I am ever,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

N^o. XXV.

Feb. 20, 1660. *Brussels.*

S I R,

YOur's of the 27th came to me so late the last Week, that I was compelled to make my Excuse to you by Mr. *Rumbald*, for not answering it then; and the same Day I received your other of the 20th; and since that another of the 30th by the Way of *Paris*; and by this last Post I have your's of the 3^d of this Month; but that of the 13th of *January* is not come to my Hands; and if it were sent to *Calais*, to be from thence conveyed hither, it is very probable, it was amongst those many Letters, which were sent by one Mr. *Leonard*, taken, and carried into ^u *Dunkirk*, and from thence sent, with the poor Gentleman, to the

^u See above, p. 250.

Council. I shall answer all your Letters in order, as they were writ; except, upon the Occasion of the Subject, I speak at once to any Particular, that may run through all your Letters. I am glad Sir *Thomas Middleton* hath so good an Opinion of Colonel *Whitley*, who truly, I believe, is an honest Man; the Danger only is of over Activity, and presuming to be employed, when he is not: Nor do you answer me, whether he did pretend to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to be sent by the King to him, to command the Horse as Major-General; which Colonel *Worden* affirms. I have not heard of any Testimonial he hath procured; which indeed is no Way to vindicate a Man's Reputation; since few Men will refuse to sign a Paper, that is brought to them: And Colonel *Worden* professes, that he received his Testimonial very unwillingly; which he was forced to take by the frank Importunity of his Friends, who were offended at such Reproaches, as they found raised against him. The King is very glad, that you have received Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Commission, and that he is ready to accept the Trust, when the Season shall be ripe.

What I said concerning *Shrewsbury* was not, that I thought it unfit to be in Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Hands: I know very well, how it lies to *North Wales*, and the great Advantage they may receive from each other; and no Man is so fit to be Governor of it, as Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who offers to contribute so much to the possessing of it: But what I said upon that Occasion, concerning my Lord *Newport*, was, that it would be fitter to be transacted and consented to by an Association with *Shropshire*, than by an absolute Disposition of the King's. And I named my Lord *Newport* only, as a principal Person of that County, and one very much affected to the King's Service, not as Commander in Chief; which I do not believe he will ever affect to be. He is too wise a Man, to keep any Thing in his Mind of former Passages, that may breed a Disturbance in the present Service: And no body can be so fit to negotiate such an Association, as *Andrew Newport*; and therefore I pray, let my Lord *Mordaunt* and Mr. *Rumbald* dispose *Andrew Newport* in such a manner, as you will do Sir *Thomas Middleton*, that they may meet together, and settle the Association; and I

shall then wonder, if the *Shropshire* Gentlemen shall not be very willing, that Sir *Thomas* shall be Governor of *Shrewsbury*, when he hath been the principal Means to take it; and that is all I shall say of that Matter, more than my very hearty Service to Sir *Thomas*, and his Son, of whom his Majesty hath all the Confidence imaginable.

Concerning the Business of the Church, &c. to [facilitating the rest] as above, p. 247, 248.

I have heard much good of Mr. *Cholmeley*, and know well, that he is well known to the King and my Lord of *Ormond*; and I shall be very glad upon any Occasion to serve him, and to be acquainted with him; as I was very well with his Father, and his Uncle *Harry*, who, I hope, will yet prove right. The Addresses from *Northamptonshire* and the other Counties are very good, notwithstanding all Clauses, which will do Good in the Way, and no Hurt in the End.

Sir *Theo. Gilby* is a very honest, and a modest Man, and a good Officer; but I am sorry he calls so soon upon you again, as if he were to be a standing and a constant Charge. I have writ to my Lord

Mordaunt to do somewhat for him, which I hope he will do; and if you please, let the whole twenty Pounds be given to *Grig*, who complains too of great Necessities; but they must not think, that they can be wholly supported from hence. I do thank you with all my Heart, for giving me an Opportunity to send my Service to *Clem. Spellman* ^w, whom I know to be a very worthy Person, and whose Affections the King is obliged to reward; which he resolves to do. I pray remember my Service very kindly to him; and let him know, that I did receive the Books long since, with a very great Sense of the Obligation; and did return my Acknowledgment by at least three several Letters to *Dr. Ryves* ^x; which it seems he never received. I have had froward Fortune with Reference to *Clem. Spellman*, to whom I heard one Gentleman, without any Authority from me, did very impertinently

^w Son of the famous Antiquary *Sir Henry Spellman*, whose Book *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* he published with a large Preface. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 511.*

^x I suppose *Bruno Ryves*, D. D. Chaplain to King *Charles* the First, the Author of *Mercurius Rusticus*, for his Loyalty and Sufferings made Dean of *Windsor*, Sept. 3, 1660, where he died, July 13, 1677, of whom you have a farther Account. *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 433, 434.*

and absurdly deliver a Compliment in my Name: And all those Ways, by which I did in truth endeavour to let him know, how much I am his Servant, have been disappointed. I pray know of him, whether his Father left no Advance in the *Glossary*. It would be very good News, if I could hear of my Lord of *Ely's* being in full Liberty; to whom I pray present my humble Service. The Truth is, I have little Hope of the Business of the Church, but by his being at Liberty; and therefore I hope he will make no Scruple of accepting it, if it be offered, or if it can be reasonably obtained.

I have received the Note from Sir *Th. Bond*, and will return you another, either now, or very speedily. I conceive by your's of the 30th, that Mr. *Otway* is before this Time with you; and then you cannot be long kept in Suspence, what *Monk* resolves to do; and if *Clarges* hath the Courage to shew him the King's Letter, it must work upon him as much, as if it had been written to himself. I conceive the Letter you desire from the King, is for Colonel *Redman* (though there be some Mistake in your Cypher) and the King hath writ the inclosed accordingly. I do confess to you (though
very

very many are of your Opinion, and would find out Expedients accordingly, I am not so much frightened with the Fear of those Persons; who by being possessed of the Church, Crown, and Delinquents Lands, will be thereby withheld from returning to their Duties, except they might be assured to retain the same. *First*, I do not think the Number so very considerable of all those, who are intangled in that Guilt, that their Interest can continue, or support the War; when the Nation shall discern, that there is nothing else keeps off the Peace. *Secondly*, They who have the greatest Share in those Spoils, are Persons otherwise so irreconcilable, either by their villanous Resolutions, as Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and others, that no Overtures of that kind would work upon them, but would be turned into Reproach; and as the Number of those is not great: so the Greatness of their Possessions makes them more Enemies than Friends, setting all other Guilt aside. *Thirdly*, Tho' it be not in the King's Power to alienate either Crown, Church, or Delinquents Lands, and therefore his Offer (if he should make it) would be valued accordingly; and it is hardly possible, that any Parliament

which owns the King, can be so constituted, as to ratify such an Alienation: So no particular Man, who is possessed of such Lands, and will really do signal Service for the King, can doubt but that it is in the King's Power, and must be in his Will, to make him ample Recompence for any Service he shall do him; and that he shall be a good Husband, as well as good Subject, by returning to his Duty, and serving the King effectually; and therefore you may easily undertake from the King, and in his Name, to Colonel *Redman*, that he shall not find his Fortune the worse for serving the King; but that if he shall do it vigorously, he shall be sure, either to have a good Title given him to the Lands in *Ireland*, of which he is possessed, or at least to continue him in the Possession of them, till he receives a valuable Recompence to his own Satisfaction: And if you can let us know, what Lands they are, of which he is possessed; I believe it will be in our Power to say more to him for his present Satisfaction. And what I say to you concerning *Redman*, you are to take as said with Reference to any others, who are in the same Condition and Disposition to serve the King; and you may cause them

them to be treated with in the same manner, and upon the same Assurance.

I am very much taken with Mr. *Steward's* Case, and did hope, that our last Letters would have brought us some News of the City's Resentment of it; but I believe, they will avoid all sharp Expostulations, till they can make a clearer Judgment of *Monk's* Resolutions; of which, methinks, by your's of the 3^d, you seem still to retain some Hopes; and it is evident enough from his Carriage, that he is willing all Parties should retain a fair Hope of him. There is no Doubt, it is in his Power (if he be once well resolved) to make himself so strong, by a Conjunction with honest and worthy Men, that he need fear no Opposition; but may bring all to pass, that he can reasonably desire, or others desire from him; and he takes very ill Measures of his own Interest, if he doth not believe, that it can be more advanced by his adhering to the King, and eminently promoting his Right, than by any other Course he can take; and in truth, that no other Advancement can be pleasant or lasting to him. But if he should prove so false and so foolish, as to give himself up to the Imagination of a Republick;

I hope the good Spirit, that already appears throughout the whole Kingdom, will be heightened with Indignation and Obstinacy, to protest against a Submission and Subjection to such an extravagant and absurd Government, as is now over them; and consequently will refuse all Payments of Taxes and Impositions, and fill *Westminster-Hall* with Proceſs and Complaints to the Judges for the Oppreſſions they ſuffer againſt Law. So that they may not be only without hope of a ſolid Settlement; but may receive ſuch viſible Oppoſition, as may take away all their Reputation with their Neighbours, of their being like to ſettle: and then will be the Time for thoſe Presbyterian Pulpits, which would be thought to have any Principles of Allegiance, to diſcharge themſelves efficaciously.

The Expreſs you mention in your's of the 3^d is not yet arrived; ſo that having answered every Particular in all your's, I might very well give you Eaſe from farther Trouble at preſent; but I am compelled to enlarge this very long Letter, by an unhappy Information, which Secretary *Nicholas* now gives me from Mr. *Baron*; who ſends to him, to deſire me to forbear writing any more in
Mr.

Mr. *Rumbald's* Cypher; because, he says, the Council of State hath gotten a Copy of it; which I cannot imagine; since, as I am sure, it hath never been out of my own Hand; so that there can be no such Thing from hence; and I cannot imagine, that he would be less careful there; and it is very natural for them to give out such Brags, as they do, of their great γ Skill in decyphering; for which no body needs to fear them, if they write carefully in good Cyphers. However as I shall be in great Pain, till I know the contrary, and especially till I know that my Letters of the last *Friday*, under my Lady ^z Abbess's Cover, came safe to him (which I sent upon an Invitation from thence, and an Assurance, that they should be very safely delivered) so I will forbear writing to Mr. *Rumbald* himself, till I am better informed. Therefore together with this, I pray let him know, that I have received his of the 20th, and the King his other of the 30th; but that of the 13th is miscarried, as your's of the same Date did.

You will receive a Note signed by the King; which, how obscure soever, his Ma-

γ See above, p. 251, 252.

^z See above, p. 253.

jesty hath done upon his Desire, and upon his great Confidence in Mr. *Warwick*, to whom he will cause it to be delivered; and then give his Majesty a fuller Account of the Contents and Effect of it; and of that Particular, which I mentioned in a former Letter to him, by the King's Command, concerning Mr. *Warwick*, and to which his Majesty hath yet received no Answer. The King gives him many Thanks for the Information he sent him concerning *Whiting*, who lives not in this Town, but at *Bruges*, where he is able to do more Mischief by those Offices, than if he were here. We heard before, that *Lockheart* had given Notice of Mr. *Allestrey's* passing to *Dover*, before he could get thither; by which the Guard was ready to seize ^a him at his landing: and the same Office had been performed for Sir *John Stevens* and his Friend. We had no Suspicion of this Fellow, whom we never saw; yet he hath been recommended as an honest Man, and worthy of the King's Protection, by some Men, who in truth are so; and, I am confident, thought this Fellow

^a See above, p. 250.

honest. We will take the best Course we can concerning him ; yet the King desires Mr. *Rumbald* to inform himself the best he can of him, and to let his Majesty know, who Mrs. *Leonard* is, to whose Affection he is so much beholden : and out of Tenderness to her and her Daughter, he will be more desirous to prevent the absolute Ruin of this Knave : And I pray let us receive an Answer to this Particular as soon as may be. And if the length of this Letter doth not tire you, you shall never have Cause to be absolutely weary of,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd Feb. 19.

Hyde.

N^o. XXVI.

March 8, 1660. Brussels.

S I R,

MY last to you was of the 20th of the last Month, not having dared since to venture any Letter by the Post, upon the Alarm I had of their having

K k 4

gotten

gotten a Copy of my Cypher with Mr. *Rumbald*. I have since that Time received three from you, one of the 7th, another of the 9th, and another of the 13th; and the King had, to every one of those, one to him of the same Date; and I see you are very apprehensive of the same Mischief by the decyphering our Letters, which you impute to Art; as you have great Reason to do, if your Letters and others have been decyphered, as well as Mr. *Rumbald's*. I confess to you, as I am sure no Copy could be gotten of any of my Cyphers from hence; so I did not think it probable, that they could be got on your side the Water. But I was as confident, till you tell me you believe it, that the Devil himself cannot decypher a Letter, that is well written, or find that 100 stands for Sir *H. Vane*. I have heard of many of the Pretenders to that Skill, and have spoken with some of them, but have found them all to be Mountebanks: Nor did I ever hear, that more of the King's Letters that were found at *Naseby*, than those which they found decyphered, or found the Cyphers in which they were writ, were decyphered. And I very well remember, that in the Volume they published, there was

much left in Cypher, which could not be understood; and which I believe they would have explained, if it had been in their Power: But you can easily satisfy yourself in this Point; if you either make a Cypher yourself, or write half a score Lines out of several other Cyphers, and send them to the Artift: And you will then be convinced yourself, and be able to convince others; and then it will be to no Purpose to traffick any more in those Commodities. In the mean Time, we must look out the safest Way for Conveyances; and truly I do not find, that many of mine have miscarried: And I have persuaded Mr. *Wright* to use the Conveyance by my Lady Abbess^b, which brings many other Letters very exactly to me. I hope you have received long since the King's Letter to my Lord of *Derby*. You may assure Sir *Thomas Middleton*, that the Commander in Chief for *South Wales*, is left to be chosen by the Commissioners, as in most other Counties: And if Mr. *Mansell* hath those Affections, which many believe him to have; it is very probable, he will be chosen; for we have not heard from

^b See above, p. 253.

Laborne of late Years; though the King believes well of him, and would be very glad, that he appeared. I hope by this Time you have spoken with Mr. *Allestrey*; and I can add nothing to what hath been already so often said in that Affair, but my hearty Sorrow, that nothing is yet done in it; and whoever the Objecter was, the King will not do him so much Credit, as to make any Alteration in his Nominations: And the Objecter must be of Age to remember, that he who was last Bishop ^c of *Worcester*, was never Bishop of any other Place. You have indeed too much Reason to doubt, that he who makes those Scruples, will never do any Thing he should do. I would be very glad, you would tell me, who ^d it is.

I hope you have received the King's Letter for *Redman*, which was sent with others by an Express; so that I cannot fear the Miscarriage.

As *Monk's* Proceeding, &c. to [the King's Kindness] as above, p. 258, 259.

You receive herewith a Letter from the King to Sir *Henry* ^e *Cholmeley*, which you

^c Dr. *Prideaux*. See above, p. 242.
Bishop of *Oxford*. See above, p. 239, &c.

^d It seems it was the
^e See above, p. 231.

will desire his Nephew to send to him; and you may assure Mr. *Cholmeley* ^f of the King's great Kindness to him, and of the Sense he hath of the many Services he doth him. It would be great Pity, that the Business of *Yorkshire* should be disturbed by any Factions and Emulations amongst themselves, how good soever their Intentions are. It is long since, I asked you in a Letter somewhat concerning *Toby* & *Wickham*; and if you were acquainted with him, I would be glad. I asked you where he is, and what he doth: I presume Mr. *Cholmeley* knows all that concerns him.

This hath been written these two Days; and I meant not to have made any Addition; but the Express is just now arrived with the great News; who likewise brings your Letter of the 21st, which gives the King great Hope, that *Monk* is better disposed and resolved, than he yet avows: However the Business is in a good Way; and he will by Degrees be brought to it; if he had not rather others should have the Glory of such an Action, than himself: But,

^f See above, p. 231.

^g See above, p. 480, 481.

methinks, this calling another Parliament [is] the farthest Way about, and I believe not easy to be practis'd. I pray, cause the inclos'd to be deliver'd to Mr. *Cholmeley*. God send us a good Meeting, and me Opportunities to serve you as,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Receiv'd *March 6.*

Hyde.

N^o. XXVII.

I Do acknowledge to have receiv'd the Sum of one hundred Pounds by the Directions of Mr. *B. Brussels* the first of *April 1660.*

Charles R.

N^o. XXVIII.

April 2, 1660. Brussels.

S I R,

IN mine of *Saturday* last to Mr. *Wright*, I desir'd him to excuse me to you, for not acknowledging your's of the 10th, both to the King, and my self, which I had then
newly

newly receiv'd; as I had your former of the 2^d of the last Month. The King is abundantly satisfied with the Account you give of your Friend ^h; and hath heard nothing, that should persuade him, that *Monk* hath withdrawn any of his Confidence from him: But it is very true; one Letter from a reasonable good Hand (which doth not suspect, that we know any Thing of him) mentions him as a great Stickler with the Officers, to promote that Remonstrance, which the General quashed; and I find many others, especially about *Chester*, who believe *Redman* to be an Anabaptist, and that Brigade to be even ready to protest, and engage against the present Government. But nothing of those Discourses make any Impressions here; but his Majesty promises himself great Effects of both their Services. And truly, if we may believe what some sober Men of the City say of *Monk* himself, and some Expressions of his to them, we may reasonably believe, that he is not only without any Malice or Sharpness towards the King, but even with very good Purpo-

^h Colonel *Clobery*.

ses for his Service, of which I hope we shall shortly see the Effects. I am now less frightened than I was, concerning your Letters, by what you say of the Decypherer; of whom I can give some guess, if he be a Doctor formerly of *Oxford*, and now of *Cambridge*. But then I cannot again imagine, how any of our Letters have come to be decypher'd; for I am sure, he cannot do it, if they were written carefully; nor have I heard of any that have been sent from hence, that have been decypher'd. It is too much, that those

ⁱ After what has been said above in the Note p. 61. I think there is no doubt but the Decypherer was Dr. *Wallis*; and if that be the Dr. meant here, my Lord *Clarendon* should have said, formerly of *Cambridge*, now of *Oxford*: For he was first of *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, where he stayed till after he was Master of Arts, in Hopes of being chosen Fellow, which at last he could not be; because his County was full, as the College Phrase is, which allows but one Fellow of any Connty: He removed afterwards to *Queen's* College in the same University, and was chosen Fellow there. But if my Lord *Clarendon* do not mean him, he may perhaps mean Dr. *Wilkins*, who was indeed formerly of *Oxford*, and then of *Cambridge*, viz. Master of *Trinity* College there, where he had been incorporated Doctor of Divinity, *March* 18, 1648, and having married *Cromwell's* Sister, might for that Reason be suspected; but was certainly too honest a Man to be guilty of such Villany; though his *universal* Character sufficiently shews his Skill. Dr. *Ward* (afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*) another great Mathematician, was incorporated Doctor of Divinity the same Day with Dr. *Wallis* at *Oxford*, and was in 1659 chosen President of *Trinity* College there; so that he might be then of *Oxford*, as he was originally of *Cambridge*; but it is not probable, that he was suspected.

from thence have met with that Misfortune ; and I think you once told me, that somewhat writ in your Cypher had met with the same Fate. I pray inform your self of that again, and let me know the worst of it.

I have not been able to compute, that any Letters of mine to you have miscarried ; and there must be some great Mistake, if that Letter, in which my Lord of *Derby's* was inclos'd, hath not been deliver'd to you. It was writ the 20th of *February*, and sent by a Servant of Sir *John Greenville's* : All the Letters were made up in a Cover to him ; and it seems by your's, that you receiv'd that Letter of the 20th ; and how you could miss the other, I cannot imagine ; except it were by Mistake made up, either in my Lord *Mordaunt's*, or Sir *John Greenville's* Letters : However, I send you another of the same from the King to my Lord, which I hope will have better Fortune. I pray, remember my Service to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and let him know, that Colonel *Worden* being sent for over by his Friends, is now return'd ; and truly we have not found, upon all the Enquiry we have made, any Thing that reflects upon him in point of Credit ;

Credit; so that he carries with him the King's good Opinion, and I hope he will be ready to do him all Service there: And I must do him so much Right, that no Man can magnify Sir *Thomas Middleton* more, than he hath done upon all Occasions. Concerning the Pardon ^k, it shall be dispatch'd here upon an Hour's warning; if the Party will cause it to be drawn there to his Satisfaction (there being no body here that can do it) and if he will get it ingross'd, one Draught for the Record, and the other for the great Seal. And then it shall be done with so much Secrecy, that the King's Secretary *Nicholas* and my self shall only know of it; but there is no Clerk here, for whose Secrecy I will undertake. There need not be so much as a Blank left for the Date in the Engrossment for the Seal; for I will put my *Recepi* upon that, to which the King's Hand is to be, according to what shall be fill'd up in the other. Mr. *John Heath*, who will be easily found there, and is of the King's Council, may be desir'd, for the more Validity, to set his Hand to the

^k Not improbably General *Monk's* Pardon. See his Life by *Skinner*, P. 299.

Docket; which I am confident he will do, if he be shew'd this part of my Letter; and upon my Assurance, that he shall find his Warrant in Secretary *Nicholas's*, or my Hand; and then let it be sent over by a faithful Messenger, who shall not stay an Hour for his Dispatch; and when all this is done, the Party may be very confident, that the King intends him other Rewards, than a Pardon: And in the mean Time, he may assure himself, for the Quiet of his own Mind, that the King doth as heartily pardon him, as he desires Pardon himself in Heaven.

I hope Dr. *Morley*¹ is by this Time with you, and will join with you in the Business of the Church, of which I can say no more, but that I hope God Almighty will not put it into their Power, who care so little for it, to suffer it to expire. The King is very well pleased with the Account Mr. *Cholmely* hath given him, and is very confident of

¹ I suppose *George Morley*, D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles* the First, and Canon of *Christ Church*, who after the Murther of his Royal Master, having spent most of his Time abroad in Exile, was upon the Restoration, for his eminent Loyalty and great Sufferings, made first Dean of *Christ Church*, then Bishop of *Worcester*, October 28, 1660, and at last Bishop of *Winchester*, May 14, 1662, and died at *Farnham Castle* October 29, 1684, of whom see a larger Account, *Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 581, &c.*

his Uncle: But when any Thing is to be done in *Yorkshire*, the King desires, that Mr. *Cholmeley* would be there upon the Place, in order to bring the King's Friends into the Conjunction; and those of inferior Condition may, I suppose, appear at the beginning; though the rest of the greater Quality may forbear, till the Season shall be judg'd ripe. My Lord *Langdale*^k is not in this Country, but retir'd to a Monastery in *Germany*, to live with the more Frugality. I shall write to him, how much his Countrymen desire him.

I pray, remember my Service to our Friend Mr. *Spelman*, and give him Assurance of all the Offices I can perform towards him; and I do not doubt, but to be able to serve him, at least to such a Degree as he proposeth. The Presbyterians, and their Humours, and Appetites must be now so well known, that I hope no Arts or Artifices are omitted to dispose them, for their own Sakes, as much as is possible to repair the Ruins they have made; and then the worst of them will be so contradicted

^k See above, p. 93.

and controlled by the best, that the Schism will appear. There are some of them, who have been eminent enough, when they were against us; who now either really are, or are willing to appear converted as well to a Piety towards the Church, as a Loyalty towards the King. I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant, Hyde.

N^o. XXIX.

S I R, *Breda, April 16, 1660.*

WHEN honest Mr. *Wright* left us, I had so much upon my Hands to dispatch, that I obliged him to make my Excuse to you, for not writing; which he promis'd me to do very confidently; and next to not writing at all, the Dispatch I shall now send you, in the Acknowledgment both of your's of the 23^d and the 30th, will need a new Excuse: For the Truth is, I now am almost in as much Haste, as I was when he left me. The King came hither but on *Wednesday*, and I but the last Night; so that having but two or three Hours, to make use of a safe Messenger, I can hardly find the Letters I am to answer. The Prospect of your Affairs looks very well towards us; and I am persuaded, that

Monk will in the end appear to have proceeded like a sober Man; and assure your self, your Friend ¹ cannot be without a very good Acknowledgment, for contributing much towards that Temper; and whatever Jealousies there be among themselves, between the Civil and Martial Counsellors; I do not find, there is any of the last Classis, by whom *Monk* is like to be advis'd, or who are like to do him so much Service in the Army, as your two ^m Friends are: And therefore, I pray, continue your Interposition with them, with all the Encouragements that can be desir'd from the King, of which they may be most confident. And here I must not omit to tell you, that some Persons of unquestionable Affections, and of great Quality, have sent lately to the King, to make Propositions to him of engaging Colonel *Clobery*, as a Person most able to do him Service with the General; they not imagining, that we have any Knowledge or Communication with him; nor do we pretend it, but seem to decline to write such Letters, as they desire, out of an Apprehension, that

¹ Colonel *Clobery*.
Colonel *Redman*.

^m I suppose Colonel *Clobery* and

he is of the Republican Party, and not to be wrought upon. This we think very necessary you should know; and it may be he himself; lest it should be intimated to him, that there is an ill Opinion of him here; which sometimes falls out, by the Weakness of our Friends; when to avoid some unseasonable Overtures, or a more unseasonable Discovery, we seem to have Prejudice towards those, in whom we have most confided.

Lord *Mordaunt* tells me of a Mistake you incurr'd, in delivering a wrong Letter to Colonel *Redman*; but I suppose, you have since rectified it, by delivering the right Letter to him; otherwise I would have sent you a Duplicate of it; as I did of that to my Lord of *Derby*, which I hope came safe to your Hands.

I am heartily glad, that Dr. *Morley* is with you, whom you will find a very worthy and discreet Person, and fit to keep you Company, in allaying the too much Heat and Distemper, which some of our Friends are in this unseasonable Conjunction very much accus'd of; insomuch as this very last Post hath brought over three or four Complaints to the King, of the very unskillful Passion

and Distemper of some of our Divines, in their late Sermons; with which, they say, that both the General and the Council of State are highly offended; as truly they have Reason to be; if, as they report, there have been such Menaces and Threats against those, who have hitherto had the Power of doing Hurt, and are not yet so much depriv'd of it, that they ought to be undervalued. One ^a Dr. *Griffith* is mention'd for

^a Dr. *Matthew Griffith*, of whom we have this Account in Mr. *Wood* (*Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 249.*) that he was born of good Parentage in *London*, entered Commoner of *Brazen-Nose* College in the beginning of *May*, 1615, aged sixteen Years or more, took one Degree in Arts as Member of *Gloucester-Hall*, then entering into Holy Orders, soon after became Lecturer of *St. Dunstan's* in the West, under the Inspection (as 'tis said, *David Loyd's Memoirs, p. 521.*) of Dr. *John Downs*, whose Favourite he was: Afterwards by the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's*, he was presented to the Rectory of *St. Mary Magdalen* near old *Fish-street*, where shewing himself a grand Episcoparian, he was in the beginning of the Rebellion sequester'd, plunder'd, and imprison'd in *Newgate*; whence being let out, and forced to fly, he was taken and confin'd in *Peter-house*: At length discharged, he retired to the King at *Oxford*, by whose Letters he was created Doctor of Divinity in *June* 1643, and made one of his Majesty's Chaplains. On the declining of the King's Cause he returned to *London*, and during the Usurpation, privately officiated to the poor Cavaliers in the Church of *England* Service, for which he suffered seven violent Assaults, 'tis said, and five Imprisonments, the last in *Newgate* in the beginning of the Year 1660. After the King's Return he was restored to his Rectory, made Preacher to the honourable Societies of the Temples, and Rector of *Bladon* in *Oxfordshire*: But whether he was made Prebendary of any Church, or Dean,

for having preach'd a Sermon of that Kind, and since printed and dedicated it to the General; who, they say, is extreamly offend'd at it. Other Persons are likewise nam'd, as guilty of the same Indiscretions; who are so well known to me, that I do not believe it: And the King is very earnestly desir'd, to send some such Order and Re- prehension, under his own Hand, to restrain those, who profess Devotion to his Service, from such Excesses; but it is not easy to do it in that Way that is prescrib'd; nor are we willing to believe, the Information is exact to all Particulars. However the King is really troubled at it, and extreamly apprehensive of Inconvenience and Mis-

Dean, which Mr. Wood says he much deserved, he does not know.

In the Account which is there added of what the Doctor writ and published, he mentions the Sermon which is here said to have so much offended General Monk, intituled, *The Fear of God and the King*, preached at Mercer's Chapel, March 25, 1660, on *Prov. xxiv. 21.* in which shewing himself too zealous for the Royal Cause, before General Monk durst own it, to please and blind the Fanatick Party he was put into *Newgate*, but soon after releas'd. To this Sermon there was an Answer made by *John Milton*, intituled. *Brief Notes upon a late Sermon intituled, The Fear of God, &c.* whereupon came out a little Thing called, *No blind Guides*, addressed to the Author, in two Sheets, in *Roger L'Estrange's Apology*, London 1660, 4^{to}. The Dr. died at *Bladon*, October 14, 1665, and was buried in the Chancel of that Church. See *Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part 2. p. 170, 171.

chief to the Church and himself, from Offences of that Kind; and hath commanded me to desire, not only you and Dr. *Morley*, to use your Credit and Authority with such Men, and to let them know from his Majesty, the Sense he hath of it; but if you find Occasion, that you do speak to the Bishops of *Ely* and *Salisbury*, to interpose their Authority, to conjure those Men, to make a better Judgment of the Season, and not to awaken those Jealousies and Apprehensions, which all Men should endeavour to extinguish. And truly, I hope, if Faults of this Kind are not committed, that both the Church and the Kingdom will be better dealt with, than is imagin'd: And I am confident, those good Men will be more troubled, that the Church should undergo a new Suffering by their Indiscretion, than for all that they have suffer'd hitherto themselves. I should not have enlarg'd so much upon this Particular, without Command; and I should not have received that Command, if his Majesty had not receiv'd very particular Information and Complaint in the Point; and I am sure this Advertisment cannot be ill taken, though in truth there should have been no Grounds for the
other.

other. I wish you all Happiness, and am very heartily,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

N^o. XXXI.

April 22, 1660. Breda.

S I R,

MY last to you was of the 16th, under Cover to Mr. *Wright*, when I had many of your's upon my Hands undecypher'd; so that I am now to account to you for your's of the 16th and 19th past, to the King and to myself, and another of the 26th to my self. The King is very glad, that there is so good an Understanding between *Monk* and your ° Friend; and he hopes all will proceed hereafter without any Rubs; and that the Army will be reduc'd to a good Temper, both by putting out ill Men, and by bringing in good. I am very glad, that Colonel *Venables* is Governor of *Chester*; of whose Affections the

° Colonel *Clobery*.

King hath not the least Doubt : yet I have thought to ask you a Question concerning him long, whether he be of the Independent Party in Point of Religion ; which I have heard confidently averred by some, who have great Kindness for him, and Assurance of his Affection to the King ; and together with that, a great Opinion of his Parts and Understanding, which methinks should hardly consist with the other.

Mr. *Wright* spoke to me of those Sums to be return'd to Dr. *Earle*^p and Mr. *Hawles*, which I was not able to do ; but I think Lord *Mordaunt* undertook to do it at *Antwerp* ; but I would know, whether it be done or no. I am persuaded, I did send that Acquittance you mention ; however you shall be sure to receive another very quickly. You do not send me Word, in whose Hands *Shrewsbury* is put : I wish it were in Sir *Thomas Middleton's*. The King knows not what to say more of the Business of the Church ; and presumes that my Lord of *Ely*, and the Bishop of *Salisbury* will be able to make a Judgment, how Things are like to succeed, and proceed accordingly.

^p See an Account of him. *Wood. Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 251.*

I pray remember me very kindly to *Clem. Spelman*, and tell him, that I have Authority from the King, to assure him, that he shall find himself in his Care; and he will quickly find the Effects of it. I did mention the first Place to the King, but have not yet mention'd this last, which is nam'd by you; nor do I think it equal either in Profit or Reputation to the other. Besides, if I am not deceiv'd, there was some Grant made of it to Sir *Edward Warder's* Son at *Oxford*; it having been an Office for some Descents in that Family. However, I am very glad, he hath such a Collection of the Papers, which I shall be very glad to receive from him when we meet; and will rather defer it till then, than put him to the Trouble of such a Journey in this Conjunction; when his Presence there may be of more Use: And truly, I hope, it will not be long, before we meet. When Lord *Mordaunt* was here, he told me of that Mistake concerning Colonel *Redman's* Letter, which proceeded not from any Error here; for you acknowledg'd the Receipt of it long before the 20th of *February*, when I sent that for the Earl of *Derby*. And I remember, you told me, that you once thought to

have sent it to him into the Country : But his Friend chang'd his Opinion ; and having sent him Word, that he had it for him, resolv'd to keep it in his Hands, till he came to Town : That to him was directed with an *R.* and the other for my Lord of *Derby* with a *D.* Nor can there be any proper Excuse made in such a Case, but to let him know the true Mistake, that you gave him one Letter for another ; and I now send you the Duplicate of the former. I find there have been more Mistakes concerning him, than concerning Colonel *Clobery* ; and that he hath been generally taken to be fixed to the Republick Party : And it may be, he hath been the more able to do Service that Way. Since I writ thus far, I have receiv'd your's of the 6th of this Month ; upon which I have neither Time, nor, in truth, occasion to enlarge much : Only I will not omit to tell you (upon what you said in your former of the 30th, and in this) that you may be most confident, the King will be most tender in parting with the Revenues of the Church : And I cannot imagine, that longer Leases can be pressed for, than three Lives, reserving the old Rent : And I cannot chuse but hope and believe, that

that how untoward Accounts soever some of the Presbyterians make, there will be a better Bargain made for the Church, than is yet imagin'd.

Since Dr. *Morley* hath not yet his Cypher by him, I must desire you to tell him, and to make use of the Advertisement yourself, that the King very well approves, and desires, that he and you, and other discreet Men of the Clergy should enter into Conversation, and have frequent Conferences with those of the Presbyterian Party; that if it be possible, you may reduce them to such a Temper, as is consistent with the good of the Church: And it may be it would be no ill Expedient to promote that Temper, to assure them of present good Preferments in the Church. But in my own Opinion, you should rather endeavour to win over those, who being recover'd, will have both Reputation and Desire to merit from the Church, than be over solicitous to comply with the Pride and Passion of those, who propose extravagant Things: as what can be said to the Divine, who is not only so well satisfied with his Rebellion, but would require other Men to renounce their Innocence, and justify him; which I

am confident no Parliament will ever do? You find by my last, how sensible the King is of those Indiscretions of Dr. *Griffith* ^p and other Clergymen, and of the great Disservice it doth him; which I perceive by your's, is as much as we heard before. I shall not need to desire you to apply all possible Remedies to it; and if the Lord *Fairfax* ^q were there (as I hope he will be shortly)

^p See above, p. 518.

^q *Thomas*, Son and Heir of *Ferdinando*, Lord *Fairfax* of *Denton* in *Yorkshire*, Baron of *Camerone* in *Scotland*, born at *Denton* in *January* 1611, after some Time spent in *St. John's College* in *Cambridge* (see the Note above, p. 24, 25.) bred a Soldier in the Low-Countries under *Horatio Lord Vere*, on his Father's Death *March* 13, 1647, succeeded to that Honour; before which, as his Father was very active in the Rebellion, so the Son succeeded the Earl of *Essex* as *Generalissimo* of all the Parliament Forces, *December* 31, 1644. But as he would not sit upon the King's Trial, though nominated the chief Judge: So when his Majesty was condemn'd, he us'd his Power and Interest to have that infamous Execution deferr'd for some Days, forbearing his coming among the Officers, fully resolving with his own Regiment to prevent it, or have it deferr'd, till he could make a Party in the Army to second his Design; but was with certain Officers (most probably by *Cromwell's* Artifice) detained in Prayer or Discourse all that fatal Morning, till the bloody Work was over, without so much as his knowing it. On King *Charles* the Second's going into *Scotland* to recover his Kingdom, he layed down his Commission, and retired to his Seat in *Yorkshire*, where he was ready to have join'd Sir *George Booth*, if his Design had succeeded; and did actually appear at the Head of a great Party soon after, to assist General *Monk* against *Lambert*, and declared for a free Parliament; and being chosen the first Knight of his Shire for the new Parliament,

ly) those Gentlemen will find, that He doth in no Degree think himself beholden to them. I shall add no more, but that I am very heartily,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

Hyde.

The inclosed from the King to Colonel *Redman* is not the Duplicate, but an Enlargement of what he writ formerly, taking Notice of the Miscarriage and Mistake of the former.

liament, as he had been formerly the most active Commissioner of the Rebel-Parliament, to present their Answer to King *Charles* the First's Messages about *Hull*; so was one of the twelve sent by this to wait on King *Charles* the Second in *Holland*. After the Dissolution of that Parliament he retired again to his Seat, and died there *November 12, Anno 1671*. (*Wood Fasti Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 766, 767, 768. Echard's Hist. Vol. 2. Book 3. ch. 3. p. 752, 753.*) He was succeeded in the Honour by *Henry*, his Cousin German, whose Grandson *Thomas* is now Lord *Fairfax*. *British Compend. Vol. 2. p. 237.*

N^o. XXXI.*Breda May 20, 1660.*General *Monk*,

I Was the last Week dispatching *Bernard Greenville*, with my Answer to your's of the 20th of the last Month, when in the Instant as he was departing, I receiv'd the good News of what was done on *May Day*, upon the Reception of my Letters and Declaration in the two Houses, which made most of what I had writ to you unnecessary to be sent; and so I kept the Messenger still here. I have since receiv'd your's of the 5th by Sir *Thomas Clarges*, with the Address the Officers of the Army made to you; upon which I shall not enlarge till the Return of the same Messenger. I have likewise another from you of the same Date; upon all which, besides the great Miracle which God Almighty hath wrought upon the Hearts of the Nation, I must ever acknowledge your extraordinary Affection to me, and your very discreet Conduct of this great Work, in which you have had to do with Persons of such different Humours, and contrary Affections, which you have

3

wonderfully

wonderfully compos'd; and yet you cannot but expect that there are many Persons still contriving the same Mischiefs against me and you; and who must be rather suppress'd by your Authority and Power, than won and reconciled by your Indulgence; and, it may be, a little Severity towards some, would sooner reduce the rest, than any Thing you can else do. You may be most confident, and I do again renew my Promise to you (for the Performance of which you may engage your Life) that I will make good, whatever you have found necessary to promise to those, who have and shall adhere to you, to make your Work the more easy: And I am most confident, if I were with you, I should in a much shorter Time satisfy them, and put them into a full Security, than will be done by those formal Ways, which I hear some Men endeavour to go about, and in which many Obstructions will be found, which I could easily remove and prevent; and if any Course be taken, in which a just Discontent remains with any, and Justice itself is wounded, the Foundation is not well laid for a lasting Security. I am confident, I shall prevent all Inconveniencies of this kind, when I am with you,

which I must conjure you to hasten by all your Interest.

And I tell you again, I will not leave myself Bread, rather than every Thing shall not be perform'd, which you promise to your Officers and Soldiers on my behalf. I am confident, you know there hath been, and is still a Cabal, which endeavours to infuse and keep alive all ill Humours and Dissatisfactions in the Army; and to obstruct in the Houses, and defer my being sent for, which by the Blessing of God, can only put an end to all Distempers: and therefore I must conjure you to use all your Interest for the Removal of all those Obstructions, and all unnecessary Formalities, which may retard my coming; and you may be as confident, as of any Thing in this World, that if it were in my Power to recede from any Thing, I have promis'd in my Declaration, or Letters, I would as much abhor the doing it, as any Wickedness that can be imagin'd: And surely, a full and general Security, which no Man is more solicitous to establish than I am, can never be so well provided for, as by my Presence with you, which by God's Blessing would disappoint all ill Designs, which are contriv'd against

me and you, and the Peace of the Nation. I expect within few Days the Arrival of the Committee from the Parliament; and for their better Reception and Accommodation (this Town being already too full) I resolve to accept the *States* Invitation, and to go on *Monday* next to the *Hague*, as the nearest and most commodious Place, from whence I may embark; for which you will easily believe I have longing enough, that I may see you, and let the World see the Sense I have of the great Service you have done for

Your affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

N^o. XXXII.

Superscrib'd for the Lord
General *Monk*.

General Monk,

THE kind Message I have receiv'd from you by Sir *Thomas Clarges*, hath added very much to the Contentment I have found, in that it hath pleased God to make

M m 2

you

you so eminently instrumental in the unexpected Happiness of his Majesty and his Subjects; to the perfecting of which good Work, I shall bring my utmost Endeavours, with all possible Resignation of any private Concernment; and desire you to be assured, that as I have taken up the same Profession of Life with you; so I shall think it no Diminution to imitate you in continuing it, or in laying it down, as his Majesty, and his well affected Subjects shall think most expedient; and that no Man rejoyceth more heartily than I do, in the great Sense his Majesty and his three Kingdoms have of the Obligation you have laid on them, by your steady and prudent Conduct in this glorious Design of our Recovery; being resolv'd to give you all the Proofs within my Power, of my being with a great deal of Truth,

Your most affectionate Servant,

James.

Breda May 20, 1660.

N^o. XXXIII.

Superscrib'd for
Gen. Monk.

Breda May 21.

S I R,

THE Obligations that we have receiv'd from you in the general, are of such a Nature, that I could not chuse (having the Opportunity of this Bearer) but let you know the great Sense I in my own particular have of them, which I do hardly know how to express: I shall desire you to believe, that there is no body has a greater, nor will be more ready to let you know it; nor strive by all Means that are in my Power, to let you see how much I am really,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Friend;

Henry;

N^o. XXXIV.

The Chapel Plate was as followeth.

UPON the Altar or Communion Table upon solemn Days were set,

Two great Water-Pots, and a great Piece call'd the Ship, which were for Ornament more than Use.

Two Basons for the Offerings.

A great Bible and the Book of Common Prayer cover'd with Plate.

Two Chalices or Communion Cups; the one for his Majesty of clean Gold, the other Silver and gilt, suitable to the other Plate.

More, a couple of Plates, one of Gold, the other Silver and gilt.

Two Flaggons with great round Bellies.

Two great Candlesticks.

Indors'd, King's Chapel Plate.

N^o. XXXV.

Northamptonshire Address.

To his Excellency the Lord General Monk.

WE the Gentlemen, Ministers, Freeholders, and others of the County
of

of *Northampton*, conceiving that the first Force put upon the Parliament, hath been an Encouragement to open the Way to all the rest ; and finding that your Excellency (under God) hath been the principal Means for the Repairing of the last Interruption, are the more encourag'd (having the Presence of your Excellency now among us) to desire your Assistance in the procuring these our just Desires, as the visible Means of a happy Peace and Settlement of these Nations.

Whereas, every free-born Subject of *England* is suppos'd to be present in Parliament, by the Knights, or Burgeses of the Place where he liveth, and thereby is presum'd to consent to all Things that pass in Parliament; so it is now, that there is not one Knight for all the Counties in *Wales*, nor for diverse Counties in *England*, and some of them the largest in *England*, as that of *Yorkshire*: And for this County and the Boroughs, but two of nine.

1. Therefore we desire, that all vacant Places may be supplied, whether they became vacant by Death or Seclusion; and that those that were seclud'd by Force in the Year 1648, may sit again; and that no

previous Oath or Engagement may be put upon any, that is chosen by his Country to sit and vote freely in Parliament.

2. That no free-born Subject of *England* may have any Taxes levied upon him without his Consent in Parliament.

3. That the Fundamental Laws of *England*, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Property of Goods may be asserted and defended, according to the first Declarations of the Parliament, when they undertook the War.

4. That the true Protestant Religion may be professed and defended, all Heresies and Schisms discountenanced and suppressed, a lawful Succession of godly and able Ministers continued and encouraged, and the two Universities, and all Colleges in both of them, preserv'd and countenanc'd.

5. That all the Soldiery that will acquiesce in the Judgment of a free and full Parliament, in the promoting and settling a happy Peace upon these Foundations, may have their Arrears paid; and as many as the Parliament shall think necessary, may be continu'd in the Publick Service: And that as many of them, as have been Purchasers of Lands from the Parliament, may
either

either enjoy their Bargains, or their Money paid back with Interest, and some considerable Advantage over and above, for their Satisfaction ; as the Parliament shall judge, may be most expedient to the good of the Nation.

N^o. XXXVI.

Jan. 10.

S I R,

I Love to receive, but hate to write long Letters ; yet this, I foresee, will be so, and (which is worse) a foolish one too ; for the more I think of this Business, the lesser able I am to satisfy my self ; such Difficulties still offering themselves, as I know not how to master ; and therefore, were I not engag'd to answer your's by my last, you should have been eas'd of this Trouble ; which your Invitation, and my improvident Promise brings upon you.

I have perus'd what you sent from the good Bishop with much Content ; and beseech you to present my most humble Service and Thanks for so great a Favour. I now return it, and put it again into your own Power, to make good your Promise,
that

that no Copies shall be taken ; though I should have been very glad to have reserv'd one by me, if leave would have been given.

The close of that Discourse seems very rigid ; for if all be still oblig'd to so strict an Observance of the old Laws, 'tis too manifest, that all (without Exception) in some Degree or other have been to blame, and (what is worse) are like to continue so still. I shall not tell you , what I have heard some otherwise minded say, not without some shew of Reason ; both because it would make little to my present Purpose, which is only to put you in mind of what Discourse formerly passed between us ; and because I am so far of the same Opinion, that I durst never yet go to any Church, where the old Prayers were not used ; though I dare not condemn all that do.

But if the Case so stand with the Clergy, I wish his Lordship would consider, what a great piece of Charity it would be to relieve them ; and if it may be done by any, how inexcusable they are that do it not : And the Truth is, I shall sooner expect so great a Blessing from his Lordship's Wisdom, Courage, and Goodness, than from any ; and if I should say, from all the rest
of

of his Order, I should but speak my Thoughts. But how this may be done, is, I confess, beyond my Understanding to tell you; nor can I represent the Condition of this poor Church better to my Lord, than you and others have done; who have seen more Abroad, than my Retiredness would give me leave to observe. He that hath either his Eyes or Ears open, must needs know the Confusion to be great, and the State of it most lamentable; and that not only in Regard of the wild Schismaticks, but even of those who would be own'd, and may pass for the better and sounder Part. To instance in one Particular, to which at present I shall for the most part confine myself. Amongst those that either are, or would be thought loyal Subjects to the King, and obedient Sons of this Church, there is great Diversity of Opinion and Practice about Prayer, and the publick Worship of God; some believing themselves excus'd by the Times, if they wholly omit it; some contriving the Substance of it into a Prayer of their own making; supposing they have done their Duty well, if they pray nothing against the old Form; others retain part, some more, some less,
 according

according to their several Judgments; and some again holding themselves oblig'd to use all, according to their former Engagements; and not so much as to communicate with any that use it not (supposing them schismatical) are consequently depriv'd of the Benefit of others Ministry, and excluded from any publick Employment themselves, to their own great Prejudice, and the greater Scandal of the well affected Laity. Thus it is already; and 'tis like Time will produce more Divisions, both in this Particular, and many others; and in that Confusion the Church be wholly lost, if timely Remedies be not applied. The Persons thus divided in Judgment are Men of worth; there being on all Sides some most to be valued, both for their Piety, and Learning; and therefore as not hastily to be condemn'd, so like enough to give Reputation to their several Opinions and Practices; and so continue the Breach God knows how long.

I am not wise enough to prescribe a Remedy; nor to tell you how these Differences may be reconciled; but thus much I can easily foresee, that Disputing and Conference cannot do it. To attempt it that Way,
would

would be endless and fruitless: And I doubt, Authority cannot do it by any rigorous exacting of Obedience to the old Laws; for many will think themselves not oblig'd in a Case of such Danger; and would not want Arguments sufficient in such a Cause, to draw a great Party after them; and (if we may judge by what we have already seen) many will want that Courage to do what yet they believe they ought to do; and suppose all would agree to do it; what could the probable end of that Course be (as the Times are) but the total Ruin of the best part of the Clergy, and of this poor Church with them?

There is no Way then to me imaginable left, to settle a Church of any one Communion among us (without which we cannot long subsist) but by giving such a Temper and Moderation to the old Laws in all Matters, as these Times will bear, and by casting the Form of God's publick Worship in the same Mould; keeping still to the Duty we owe to God and the King, and receding as little as may be, from the old Way in all. And this was it, I meant, by regulating the Church; and if it were first done in Prayers, other Matters might be proceeded

proceeded unto, as Occasion is offer'd, and the Times give Advantage. If you ask me, how this should be done, and by what Power: I answer: It may be done safely by the Bishops themselves, could they agree in Opinion, how far this Remission ought to extend; and did they but state the whole Matter, as a Case of Conscience, what might or might not be done; and either command, or but recommend it to the Practice of the Clergy; they would certainly be obeyed, if not by all, yet by the most and best of them; who look upon them now as in the State and Condition of Primitive Bishops, and under a Civil Authority, though not Pagan, yet clearly Antichristian, and such as endeavour to destroy the Church of God; so in this Exigency necessarily freed from the Obligation of such former Laws, as Violence and Rebellion have made utterly impracticable; and to this their former solemn Engagements at their Ordination will contribute much. But if you object, that many, according to their several Dispositions, Parts, or Interests would likewise be of several Opinions, and not give such Obedience, as is suppos'd, to what the Bishops should command, or commend to their Practice;

tice;

tice; and farther, that 'tis not very likely, the Bishops themselves would easily agree, some being more remiss in Judgment, others more rigid: I answer,

2^{dly}, That another Way may be taken, which will be much more effectual, tho' not altogether so safe as the former; and that is, to do it by Commission, Leave, or at least some Intimation from the King: For in such Cases, 'tis neither safe, nor wise to be too nice and punctual. And this Power given, to be express'd in few Words, but of large Extent, leaving, upon the Matter, the whole Business of giving Temper to the old Laws, to their Discretions. The Form may be contriv'd here; but this, as not to be granted to any one; because he may be hindred by Sickness, Imprisonment, and other Accidents, from putting it in Execution (then a new Commission must be sought, and perhaps at a Time, when it cannot be so easily had, as now) so not to be given to above three Bishops at the most, both for more Secrecy, and for avoiding Diversity of Opinion among them (which may wholly frustrate the End of it) yet with Power to assume others to them at Discretion. And this is not so dangerous, as at first it may be apprehended: For,

1st, 'Tis

1st, 'Tis not equal to the Danger of governing themselves by the old Laws; to which, if they believe they are oblig'd, they must certainly run upon Ruin.

2^{dly}, The Danger is only in the Discovery; and that may very probably be prevented; for the King himself is a Person of great Secrecy; and it may be done with him by any one Person, they dare trust most; and where can they find a fitter than Dr. *Cofins*? The Grant once pass'd, they may either suffer it to rest with him, or have it sent hither, with Safety enough; and it being within so few Breasts, and those equally oblig'd to Concealment, what Danger can there be of Discovery?

More Danger (you will say) of their being disobeyed; if they do not discover by what Authority they do it: And so all this will be to no Purpose. For why should they assume that Power, will some say? Have not they an Obedience to pay to the old Laws, as well as we? And if they may dispense with themselves and us, why may not we do it without them, the Equity of the Case allowing it?

This will be easily answer'd, I believe, to all; to the most I am confident,

1st, By the Obligation and Power that Christian Bishops are known to have, and to have ever us'd, to provide for God's Service and the Church, when under the Persecution of the Civil Power.

2^{dly}, By making the Indulgence and Conditions of the Communion as large as may be, excluding none which possibly may be kept within it ; which hath been the Fault of too many particular Churches already, and such as hath begot and continued so many unhappy Differences all over *Christendom*. Let this be done (as indeed I think both in Prudence and Conscience it ought) and judge whether in such favourable Allowances, they would be disobeyed ; since Interest never wants Arguments to persuade.

This, when it comes to be put in Practice, will deserve deep Consideration, and be a Task equal to their Lordships Wisdoms. To descend to more Particulars, is beyond my Skill ; but though I cannot advise, I shall readily obey the Commands or Directions of my Superiors.

Thus far I had written, before your last came to my Hands : The Carrier, I know not by what Accident, coming later this

Return, than usually: And I am sorry for it; for it might well have saved me this Labour, my Lord having already given Approbation of one of the Courses here propos'd. However I am resolv'd to send it, that you may see how ready I was to keep my Word with you, though at present in a very ill Condition to do it; for I am exceedingly afflicted by a great and sudden Defluxion of Rheum into my Eyes; which I have not been of a long Time before troubled with. I meddle not with your Water, because I conceive it more proper to clear, than cure the Eyes; but I have twice us'd a Water sent me by my Lord of *Ely*, and have found more good by it, than in so short a Time could be expected: I pray you be pleas'd to remember my Thanks for this likewise.

I believe the Business under Consideration will require much more Time to ripen; than is yet imagined; and if my Lord think fit to command me any Thing, I will obey and submit; though at present I take myself the unfittest Person that can be thought on to pass between the Bishops, both for diverse other Reasons, and likewise because I have found that Averseness in some of them

them already, as they would not admit any Discourse about it ; but have desir'd me to mention it no more to them. The Bishop of *Rochester* I have no Interest at all in, nor I believe any else, so much as to get an Hand into his Purse ; but 'tis a very prudent Proposal of my Lord's to gain him ; and I rather wish it were, than hope it will be done. I cannot say Dr. *Cosins* is provided for ; but I have Reason to believe, that both he and Dr. *Earle* will be ; and if I find they be not, I will try some other Way to do it.

I must beg leave to answer that part of your Letter from *St. Paul's Church-Yard* by the next Return ; for I cannot so much as look upon the Title of the Book, having written almost as long, as I can see any Thing ; for indeed my Eyes are in a very ill Condition. I thank you for your Pains, and desire you to enquire more particularly after any Thing written by *John Michael* ; so desiring your Prayers, I rest

Yours.

I perceive already by the Note, that it differs in the Price's formerly sent ; and sure that ought not to be.

Mr. *Brunsell* hath your Letter.

N^o. XXXVII.

MEMORANDUMS.

Episcopatus
Herefordensis. }

There is an impropriate Rectory, the Name of the Place I know not, of three hundred Pounds *per Annum*, belonging to the Bishop of *Hereford*, within four Miles of that City, with a very good House upon it, which was let for Lives; and there was but one Life in being, when the now Bishop of *Ely* was ^p Bishop there. And though his Lordship was proffered a thousand Marks, and believes he might have had a thousand Pounds to renew the Lease; yet he refus'd it, on Purpose that it might be reserv'd in Demesne to the Bishop for the Time to come. And accordingly he gave his late Majesty an Account of it; who very much approved of what he had done, and gave Command both to Bishop ^q *Field*, and Bishop ^r *Cooke* succes-

^p Viz. Anno 1634.

^q Dr. *Theophilus Field* Bishop of *St. David's*, who succeeded Bishop *Wrenn* in this See, December 15, 1635. *Le Neve Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* p. 112.

^r Dr. *George Cooke* Bishop of *Bristol*, translated to this See on Bishop *Field's* Death, June 18, 1636, died December 10, 1646. *Le Neve* *ibid.*

fively not to renew it: So that in Probability it is now clearly expired, and may be a good Improvement to that Bishoprick.

Episcopatus }
Norwich. }

WHEN Dr. *Scambler* ^t was Bishop of *Norwich*, he let a Lease of above eighty Particulars to Queen *Elizabeth*, for eighty Years, at a very small reserv'd Rent; for instance, one House for four Pence, worth forty Pounds *per Annum*: When the now Bishop of *Ely* was Bishop ^t there, he gave his late Majesty an Account of it; and of how great Advantage it would be to that See, if those Particulars were enhans'd to a treble Rent, when the Lease should expire. His Majesty approv'd well of it, and gave Order accordingly to Bishop *Montague*, not to renew the Lease. His Majesty by this Means had it in his Thoughts to divide that Diocess into two (it being very great for the Number of Churches) and to settle a Bishop at *St. Edmund's-Bury*, or *Sudbury* (where there are two very fair Churches) and to constitute

^t Dr. *Edmund Scambler* translated to this See from that of *Peterborough*, *January 5, 1584*, died *September 25, 1602*.

^t Translated from *Hereford* thither, *November 10, 1635*, and thence to *Ely*, *May 5, 1638*.

a Dean and Chapter of such Persons, as had the best Livings near adjoining, either in his own Gift, or the Archbishop of *Canterbury's*. These eighty Particulars (as it is thought) may well bear a thousand Pounds Rent *per Annum*, and the Lease is within seven or eight Years of expiring,

The two following Letters, from two great Ornaments of *St. John's College in Cambridge* (copied from the Originals by my worthy Friend *Mr. Baker*) falling within the Time of this History, and doing such Honour to the College, of which I was long an unworthy Member, I thought fit to add them to this Appendix of Letters.

*To the Reverend and my very loving Friends
Dr. Beale, the Provost, and other the Fel-
lows of St. John's College in Cambridge.
[In answer to one from the College.]*

After my hearty Commendations, so mindful I am of the ancient Favours I receiv'd in that Society of *St. John's*, whilst I was a Student there, and so sensible of your present Civility towards me, as I may
not

not upon this Invitation, pass by either of them unacknowledg'd; and therefore do hereby very heartily thank you for renewing to me the Sense of the one, and affording me the Favour of the other: And in both these Regards shall be very apprehensive of any Occasions, wherein I may do any good Offices, either towards that House, or your selves, the Provost, and Fellows thereof. I shall not farther detain the Gentleman that brought me your Letter, but bid you all very heartily farewell, and rest

Your most faithful Friend and Servant,

Covent-Garden *this*

Strafforde.

8th of Feb. 1639.

For the President of St. John's College in Cambridge, with my humble Service. [Meaning I presume the Master Dr. Beale.]

I Receiv'd lately a Letter from yourself and others of your noble Society, wherein as many Titles were given me, to which I had none; so that which I should most willingly have acknowledg'd, and might with most Justice claim, you were not pleas'd to vouchsafe me, that is, that of a St.

John's Man. I confess I am both proud and ashamed of that, and the latter in Respect, that the Fruits are unproportionable to the Seedplot: Yet, Sir, as little Learning as I brought from you, and as little as I have since increased and watered; what I did bring, I am sure I carry about me, an indelible Character of Affection and Duty to that Society, and an extraordinary longing for some Occasion of expressing that Affection and that Duty. I shall desire you to express this to them, and to add this, that as I shall never forget myself to be a Member of your Body; so I shall be ready to catch at all Means of declaring myself to be, not only to the Body, but every Member of it,

a very humble Servant,

Falkland.

[This was sent, I suppose, in answer to one from the College (*dat. pridie Idus Januar. 1641.*) upon his Lordship's being appointed Secretary of State.]



Addenda & Corrigenda.

PAGE 31. Note ^f, add, Dr. *Goad* is the last in that Catalogue, and no other Professor intervenes betwixt Dr. *Porter* of *Queen's* College, who died *Anno* 1635, and Dr. *Clark*, who was not admitted Fellow of *Trinity* Hall, till 1648, nor LL. D. till 1633, so that to reconcile what is here said (from *Querel. Cantabr.* p. 8.) we must suppose Dr. *Porter* to have reigned (probably about the Year 1630) as he reasonably might, being of a pretty advanced Age, elected Fellow of *Queen's* College, *Anno* 1600.

P. 228. Note ^r add, See a Copy of the King's Letter to Mr. *Orway*, Append. N^o xix. p. 473.

P. 252. Note, add, He was born *August* 20, 1629. in *St. Peter's* College at *Cambridge*, of which his Father was then Master, and was admitted Fellow Commoner there, *October* 25, 1642, was created A. M. at *Oxford*, *Anno* 1661, died *June* 14, 1672, on the 22^d of which Month his Body was deposited in his Father's Vault at the East End of the beautiful Chapel at *Pembroke* Hall, which Chapel was built at his Father's Charge.

P. 282. Note ^b, add See also Dr. *Goodall's* Epistle Dedicatory to his Historical Account of the College's Proceedings against *Empiricks*, &c.

P. 366, Note ^a, add, See his Funeral Sermon preached by Dr. *Jasper* *Maine*.

P. 329. lin. 2. r. *Wimpole* *, and add the Note following.

* The noble Seat of the ancient Family of *Chichley*, from the Time of *John* *Chichley* Chamberlain of *London* Son of *William* *Chichley* Esq; Alderman, and one of the Sheriffs of that City, and Nephew to *Henry* *Chichley* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Reign of *Henry* V. and to *Robert* *Chichley* twice Lord Mayor of *London*. Sir *Thomas* *Chichley*, the last of the Family that enjoyed that Estate, was Master General of the Ordinance, and Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster* in the Reigns of King *Charles* the Second, and King *James* the Second, and of the Privy-Council to the former, if not to both those Princes; a Gentleman that deserves to be mentioned with Honour, as a great Sufferer for the Royal Cause in the Time of the Rebellion, being recorded in a Catalogue of the Compounders (printed in 1655 in 8^{vo}) to have paid no less than 1945 *l.* into *Goldsmith's* Hall by way of Composition for his Estate: And, I presume,

Addenda & Corrigenda.

prefume, is the same *very worthy Person* mentioned by my Lord *Clarendon* above (p. 454.) under the Name of Mr. *Chichley*. It appears Sir *Thomas* was not Knighted before the Lady *Savile's* Death, from her carrying the Name of *Savile* to the Grave, after she had married him, which must have been changed for that of *Chichley*, had he been a Knight. It was on account of that Marriage, that *Wimpole*, her Husband's Seat, is here called her (the Lady *Savile's*) House. The Estate was afterwards sold by Sir *Thomas Chichley* to Sir *John Cutler*, by whose Daughter's Marriage with the Earl of *Radnor*, it came to his Lordship in her Right; and being afterwards purchased of that Earl by the late Duke of *Newcastle*, is now enjoyed by his Grace's Heir at Law, the Right Honourable the Lady *Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley*, and her noble Lord; from whom, as I had the Honour to receive the greatest part of this Information, so I thought it my Duty on this Occasion to make a publick Acknowledgment here of the generous Encouragement (after many other great and undeserved Favours) given not only by his Lordship to the *Latin* Edition of this Life, but also to this Translation of it, by his most noble Consort.

Page 134. Line 6. from the bottom, strike out *King*. p. 156. l. 4. from the bottom, for *at* read *by*. p. 188. Note l. 3. r. N^o xix. p. 192. l. 12, for *many* r. *own*. p. 212. l. 8. from the bottom, r. *Easton*. p. 229. l. 6. r. N^o xx. p. 253. l. ult. r. N^o xxv, xxvi. p. 291. l. 4. r. *Bernard Gilpin*. p. 335. Note, l. 4. for *coming* r. *came*. p. 344. Note, l. 25. for *Fuxon* r. *Henchman*. p. 419. Note, l. ult. for *receiv'd* r. *finish'd*, or *sent*.





THE INDEX.

A.



Abbot George, D. D. Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
p. 14.

Address of *Northamptonshire* to *General Monk*, p.
534. &c.

Allestrey Richard, D. D. on what Occasion sent to
Brussels sometimes by *Mr. Barwick*, p. 201,

202. His Concern for continuing the *Episcopal Succession*,
p. 238. Returning from *Brussels* he is taken by the Rebels
and put into Prison, p. 250. When he laid the Foundation
of his Acquaintance with *Mr. Barwick*, p. 281. See also p.
413, 418, 423, 425, 448, 464, 473, 475, 481, 484, 488,
502, 506.

Andrews Lancelot, D. D. Bishop of *Winchester*, p. 462.

Andrews, Colonel *Eusebius*, put to Death by the execrable High-
Court of Justice, p. 153.

Army offer milder Terms to the King than the Parliament, p.
78. Prepare War against the Parliament, declaring for the
King and People, p. 80. All the common Soldiers would
readily have returned to their Duty, had not their Officers
shamefully broke all the fair Promises they had made the
King, p. 81.

Aucher John, D. D. one of the first Doctors made at *Cambridge*
after the Restoration, p. 283.

The INDEX.

Atel, Colonel of Horse, deserted by the *Irish* Troops under him at the fight of their old Commander Colonel *Redman*, p. 224.

B.

B *Alcanqual Walter*, D. D. Dean of *Durham*, p. 444.

Baldero Edmund, D. D. Fellow of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, with what others he joins in writing against the solemn League and Covenant, p. 38, &c.

Barksted John, succeeds *Francis West* in the Lieutenancy of the Tower, p. 156.

Barrow Isaac, D. D. Fellow of *St. Peter's College* in *Cambridge*, with what others he joins in writing against the solemn League and Covenant, p. 36, &c. One of the first admitted Doctors at *Cambridge* after the Restoration, p. 282.

Barrow, one of the Keepers of *Carisbrook Castle*, with what others he attempts to procure his Majesty's Escape, p. 87.

Baron Mr. p. 500.

Barwick Edward, Herald-Painter, p. 5. Being an Ensign under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, how he preserved his Colours, after the Deteat of that Expedition, p. 117. In his Brother *John's* Sickness, maintains the Correspondence in his stead with the King's Ministers abroad, *ibid.* Betrayed by *Bostock* of the Post-Office, he and his Brother and some Letters from the King's Ministers are delivered up to the Rebels, p. 118. Examined separately from his Brother, p. 121. Made a close Prisoner, and denied the Assistance of all his Friends, p. 122. Almost killed with Cold and Hunger, after some Weeks he is discharged, p. 123. Yet dies soon after of Distempers got in the Prison, *ibid.*

Barwick George, p. 2.

Barwick John, where, when, and of whom born, p. 1, 2. Where taught, p. 5, 6. His Piety when a Youth, p. 8. When he went to *Cambridge*, p. 8, 9. What bodily Exercises he used, p. 9. Why he left off Football, p. 9, 10. Loved Musick, p. 10. Is deputed by the College, when Bachelor of Arts, to attend the Hearing of their Cause before the King in Council, p. 11, 12. What Praise he got by it, p. 12. Chosen Fellow of the College, p. 13. What sort of Persons were his Enemies, *ibid.* What Share he had in sending the Plate of the several Colleges to the King at *Nottingham*, p. 22, 23. And outwitting *Cromwell* who lay in wait for it, p. 25. He and others write the University of *Cambridge's* Complaint, and Mr. *Royston* prints it, p. 32, 33. In Conjunction with what others he wrote also against the Covenant, p. 33, 36, &c. Driven from the University with the rest of its Members, he goes to *London*,

The I N D E X.

p. 45. Where to negotiate the King's Affairs more covertly, he gets into the Bishop of *Durham's* Family, p. 46. How strict an Observer he was of Truth, p. 48. He brings back Sir *Thomas Middleton* and Colonel *Pope* to their Allegiance, p. 49, 50. And attends the latter when dying of the Plague, though himself had never so much as the Small-Pox, p. 54. Advises Mr. *Cresset* instead of taking Arms for the King, to serve the Royal Cause more privately, p. 58. And under the Cover of Passports of Commerce of his procuring from the Rebels, sends Messages, Money, &c. to the Royalists, p. 59, 60. And by the Help of old Women personating Stroulers conveys Letters to and from the King, p. 61, 62. With what Prudence, Fidelity, and Success, he secretly managed the King's Affairs, p. 62. When a new set of Servants are put about the King, procures Mr. *Cresset* to be one of them, p. 65, 70. Received his Majesty's Commands in Person, when Access was allowed to him, p. 77. Is often sent by his Majesty to his Friends at *London*, p. 79. When the Parliament and the Army declare against each other, takes Arms with the latter by his Majesty's Order, p. 80. Converses intimately with many Lords, &c. p. 97. And with Mr. *Holder*, and conveys his Letters to the King in his Confinement, *ibid.* Being privately admitted to the same Gentleman, when imprisoned, undertakes the Management of the King's Affairs in his stead, p. 98, 99. Is recommended by him to the Lady *Savile*. p. 100. And does him many good Offices in his Confinement, p. 101. Is honoured with an ample Testimonial from his Majesty, in a Letter all written with his own Hand, p. 103. By the King's Order concerts with Sir *Thomas Middleton* and Sir *Richard Brown*, and by their Means procures a Treaty with his Majesty to be voted, but the Place of it to be the Isle of *Wight*, p. 105. Betwixt which and *London* he rides in one Day, and returns in another, *ibid.* Assists Mr. *Lacy* in his Confinement, p. 107. Hides Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* after his Escape from Prison, under Sentence of Death, till he gets beyond Sea, p. 112. Will not despair of the Royal Cause when most desperate, p. 114, 209. Through Excess of Grief for the King's Murder falls into a dangerous Illness, p. 114. Which yet does not interrupt his Correspondence with the King's Ministers, *ibid.* After six Months the Care of his Health is committed to Dr. *Wederburn*, p. 117. That of his Correspondence to his Brother *Edward*, *ibid.* He takes Order with his Friend Mr. *Orway* about his burying, p. 119, 120. Betrayed by one *Boscock*, he and his Brother, and some Letters from the King's Ministers are delivered up to the Rebels, p. 118. He is discover'd in a pri-

The INDEX.

vate Lodging he had taken, after his Patron was reduced to Want, and turned out of his Palace, p. 118, 119. But had burnt all Papers relating to the King's Business, before the Rebels could break open his Door, p. 121. More than half dead he is carried to be examined, p. 120. Threatned with the Rack he answers undisturbed, that he had done nothing against the Laws, p. 121. *April 9, 1650.* he is shut up in a Dungeon, and no Friend allowed to see him, p. 122. And after three Days being examined again, *Mildmay* cries out loudest for torturing him, p. 123. Threats not moving him, he is tried with fair Words, but in vain, p. 124. Then sent to the Tower, to be nearer the Rack, p. 125. And that on *Good-Friday*, the Hour that our blessed Saviour is recorded to have been buried; a Reflection that strengthens his Faith and Patience, p. 125, 126. Severely used by *West* the Lieutenant, even beyond his Masters Orders, p. 126, 127. Always most abstemious, he lives here more sparingly than any Mortal, drinking nothing but Water, and why, p. 128. How much esteemed by the King, p. 118, 119. Reduced to a Skeleton by his Disease, he daily thrives in Prison, and at last recovers, p. 130, 131. Is inveighed against by *Bradshaw*, p. 133. Yet by his Leave is visited by his Friend Mr. *Orway*, p. 136. What Discourse he has with him, p. 137, &c. How cautious not to be burthenfome to his Friends, p. 142, 143. How his Piety and Patience works upon the Deputy Lieutenant *Brown*, p. 143. Whom he converts with his whole Family to the Church of *England*, and baptizeth his Child by her Liturgy, *ibid.* And so mollifies the Lieutenant *West*, that he does him many good Offices, p. 150, 151. He is discharged *August 7, 1652.* p. 155. Who are Bail for him, *ibid.* Received by his Friends as one raised from the dead, p. 158. What he studied in Prison, p. 116. After his Discharge he follows his private Studies, till he can return conveniently to the Management of the King's Business, p. 117. He sojourns some Time at Sir *Thomas Erskfield's* in *Suffex*, and makes use of his well furnished Library, p. 158. Going often to *London* about the King's Business, p. 163. Desiring *Bradshaw* to procure the Discharge of his Bail, he is courteously received by him, p. 159. Writes to the Bishop of *Durham* on occasion of the Ordinance for decimating the Laity, and prohibiting the Clergy from officiating, &c. p. 164, &c. What he esteems his Duty on that behalf, p. 165, 166. On Sir *Thomas Erskfield's* Death he waits upon his Lady to her Sister the Lady *Middleton's*, at *Chirk-Castle*, and renews his Consultations with Sir *Thomas Middleton* about the King's Affairs, p.

The I N D E X.

169, 170. Returning to *London*, he lodges in his Brother's House, p. 170. Where he repairs an Oratory, and officiates therein, *ibid.* Receives some Interruption in his weightier Affairs from an anonymous Book concerning the Nature of Catholick Faith, and of Herefy, *ibid.* Being sent for by the Bishop of *Durham* to be a Witness to his Protestation against the Fable of the *Nag's Head* Ordination, and afterwards publish it, hearing Bishop *Bramhall* was upon that Controversy, he furnishes him with Materials to put an end to it, p. 172, &c. Dr. *Hewet* being condemned by the Rebels, he takes the Charge of some Money the Doctor had collected for the King's Use, and assists him on the Scaffold, p. 175, &c. And receiving a Ring from him before he died, wears it always as a Monitor of his Duty to his Country, p. 176. Finds a hiding Place in his Brother's House for Money and Papers relating to the King's Business, p. 177. Informs the King of Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Readiness to serve him, p. 181. Receives Letters from his Majesty all in his own Hand writing, p. 178, 182, 189. Endeavours to bring over Colonel *Venables*, Colonel *Clobery*, and Colonel *Redman* to the King's Interest, and sends Mr. *Otway* into *Scotland* to Colonel *Clobery*, p. 184, 186, 187. to the end that those three Officers may join the Royalists on a Day appointed to attempt the Deliverance of their Country, p. 190. Acquaints the King with Mr. *Otway's* Zeal for his Service, p. 188. Pursues his Majesty's Will in every Thing, p. 197, as the Chancellor assures him, p. 198. Is again called from Affairs of State to the Business of the Church, p. 198, 199, 410, &c. 435, &c. How great a Share he had therein, p. 201. And with what Zeal he performed it, p. 205. Assists the Bishop of *Durham* in his last Hours, preaches his Funeral Sermon, and writes his Epitaph, p. 213. Afterwards publishing the Sermon with the Bishop's Life, dedicates them to the King, *ibid.* Consults frequently with Colonel *Clobery*, Colonel *Redman*, and Mr. *Otway*, p. 223. To what considerable Persons he communicates the King's Pleasure from his Majesty's Letters all in his own Hand almost every Week, p. 230, 231. Almost daily concerts Measures with many principal Citizens, p. 232. How anxious for securing the Episcopal Succession, p. 238. Why he declines being made a Bishop himself, p. 246. To which yet he offers to submit, if necessary, *ibid.* Why he reproves the Negligence of some in the Business of the Church, p. 148, 149. His Letter upon that Subject sent to *Brussels*, falls into the Hands of the Rebels, p. 250. By what Mischance, *ibid.* By whom decypher'd, p. 251. Receives Instructions

The I N D E X.

structions from *Brussels* with relation to General *Monk's* secret Consultations with the *Scotch* Nobility, p. 258. And to that Indignation with which the Parliament received his Message about dissolving themselves, p. 264. Why he hopes well from General *Monk*, p. 267. With what Instructions he is sent to the King by the Bishops, p. 270, &c. Graciously received at *Breda*, he is appointed to preach before the King, and made one of his Chaplains, p. 272, 273. Petitions his Majesty on the behalf of Mr. *Orway*, p. 273. And of others whom he had engaged in his Majesty's Service, p. 274, &c. In whose Favour he receded from his Right in the College, p. 278, 279. Will not wholly leave *Cambridge*, till he has taken his Doctor of Divinity's Degree, p. 279. When he took his Bachelor's at *Oxford*, with what learned Men he began an Acquaintance there, p. 279, &c. On what Question he disputes for his Doctor's Degree, p. 285. From *Cambridge* he returns to *London*, p. 287. Obtains a Prebend of *York* for his Tutor Mr. *Fothergil*, *ibid.* His Answer to such as advises him to take Care of himself as well as others, p. 288, 289. Gives Mr. *Cresset* his Testimonial, p. 292, 293. And also applies to the King on his behalf, p. 294. How much more solicitous for others, than for himself, p. 295. What Praise the King gives him on that Account, *ibid.* Gains the ill Will of some by that Means, *ibid.* Sent with Dr. *Dolben* by the King and the Bishops to exhort the condemned Regicides to Repentance, *ibid.* With what Gentleness he treats *Hugh Peters*, and with how little Success, p. 297. At the Countess of *Derby's* Request, resigns his Right to the Bishoprick of the Isle of *Man* in favour of her Chaplain, p. 300. Declines the King's Offer of the See of *Carlisle*, and why, p. 301. Advanced to the Deanery of *Durham*, keeps only the Rectory of *Houghton in le Spring* with it, *ibid.* His first Care is to restore the Beauty of Divine Worship, and elect a Bishop, p. 302. Next, to repair the Cathedral, build a Grammar School, and bring Water to the Prebendal Houses, *ibid.* Reforms the Manners of his Clergy, and augments the Salaries of the poorer Sort, p. 303. How easy in point of Fines to the Tenants of the Chapter Lands, *ibid.* How bountiful to the Poor, *ibid.* Departs from his own Right in favour of his Successors, *ibid.* Does the Duty not only of Dean, but of Register, notwithstanding his ill Health, p. 304. Sent for to *London* to take Possession of that Deanery, p. 305. Unwilling to leave the North, what his Answer to the King, p. 306. Will let no Leases before he goes, that his Successor may have the Advantage of them, p. 309. Does many other Things in his Favour, p. 310. With the Deanery he quits *Houghton* Rectory,

The INDEX.

Rectory, which he might have held longer, *ibid.* Comes to the Deanery of *St. Paul's* in the midst of *October*, 1661, p. 311. first restores the Choir there, *ibid.* What Abuses of the Prebendaries he reforms, p. 312, &c. Asserts the Rights of the Church, but often gives up his own, p. 316. Obtains a Broad Seal for repairing the Church, and another for securing its Privileges, p. 317. Why he would not permit the Lord Mayor to build a Seat in the Cathedral at the City Charge, p. 317, 318. What he gave to the Repairs of the Church, p. 319. Remits a hundred Pound in a Fine to one that had given him so much for the King in his Exile, p. 320. Grants, with the Chapter, to the College of Physicians a Lease of their House *gratis*, p. 321. Will visit the Chapter Farms in Person with his Brethren, though ill in Health, p. 322. Has the Sacrament administered every Lord's-Day, p. 323. Is chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation, p. 324, 325. And laments their not restoring the Church Discipline, p. 325, &c. Is sent for to *Wimpole* to assist *Lady Savile* in her last Hours, p. 328. Relapses soon after into his old Distemper, through too much Application to Business, p. 329. On publicly administering the Sacrament at *Christmas* is taken with a violent Cough, followed with vomiting great Quantities of Blood, p. 330. Physicians differ about proper Remedies, p. 331. But he remits nothing of his daily Fatigue, *ibid.* Prevailed with at last to change the Air, he intends to go to *Therfield*, p. 332. But that Journey being too great, retires to *Chiswick*, p. 333. Being something better, in the Spring he returns to *London*, and willing to visit the Chapter Lands in *Effex*, is seized with his Distemper on the Road, and forced to return to *Chiswick*, p. 333, 334. Yet frequently repeats his former Labours, p. 334. Not intermitting them in the Country, p. 335. as prejudicial as they were to his Health, p. 336. Going to visit *Dr. Busby*, he is taken with another Fit upon the Road, p. 336, 337. What Reproaches he suffered on that account, p. 337. Slandered with Drunkenness, who drank nothing but Spring Water, *ibid.* Which Calumnies, too frequently then thrown upon the Clergy, he thought were to be refuted only by good Deeds, *ibid.* Disabled by his Illness he would have resign'd the Deanery and Prolocutorship, though both supplied for him, but that the Bishops would not let him, p. 340. Prepares to go end his Days at *Therfield*, but is taken at *London* with a violent Pain in his Side, and dies in three Days, having received the blessed Sacrament from the Hands of *Dr. Gunning*, p. 341, 342. Who officiated, and who preached at his Funeral, and who wrote his Epitaph, p. 343, &c.

The INDEX.

- His last Will, p. 347, &c. How seasonably taken away from the Calamities then coming upon the City, p. 352, 353. See an Account of him in *D. Loyd's Memoirs*.
- Barwick Nicholas*, p. 2, 4. *Peter*, p. 5, 101, 129, 170, 177, 286, 379, 343. See the *Preface*.
- Beal William*, D. D. Master of *St. John's College in Cambridge*, p. 22. Confined in the Hold of a Ship, and threatened to be sold into Slavery, p. 32, 41. Nominated to the Deanery of *Ely*, p. 444.
- Bellingham James*, commanded a Regiment in *Sir Marmaduke Langdale's Expedition*, p. 117.
- Berwick Thomas de*, p. 3.
- Bishop of Bangor*, see *Roberts*; of *Bath and Wells*, see *Pierce*; of *Chichester*, see *King*; of *Derry*, see *Bramhall*; of *Durham*, see *Morton*; of *Ely*, see *Wren*; of *Exeter*, see *Brownrigg*; of *Hereford*, see *Cook*, *Field*, *Monk*; of *London*, see *Fuxon*, *Henchman*; of *Norwich*, see *Montague*, *Scambler*; of *Oxford*, see *Skinner*; of *Rochester*, see *Warner*; of *Salisbury and Winchester*, see *Duppa*; of *York*, see *Frewen*.
- Bishops*. How many and who were surviving after *Bishop Morton's Death*, p. 218. Why pretended to have no Right to sit in Parliament, p. 171. The Fable of their Consecration at the *Nag's Head*, long since exploded by *Mason*, again revived, *ibid.* See *Bishop Morton*. Their Canonical Ordination since the Reformation vindicated, p. 174. What Difficulty in filling up the vacant Sees, p. 203. What Way some proposed to effect it, *ibid.* The Method by which *Mr. Barwick* proposed to do it, p. 204. With what Zeal promoted by the King, *ibid.* As well as by the Chancellor, and *Mr. Barwick*, p. 205. How much hindered by the Coldness and Indifference of two Bishops, p. 218, 238. By the King's Order complained of in the Chancellor's Letters, p. 210, 239, 247. Why it was thought proper to hasten that Work, p. 237. Two new Obstructions thereto, p. 250.
- Bond*, *Sir Thomas*, p. 467, 490, 496.
- Booth*, *Sir George*, takes Arms for his Country's Deliverance, *Aug. 1. 1659*, p. 206. By whom he is joined, p. 207. And by whom betrayed, *ibid.*
- Boslock*, a Servant of the Post-Office, betrays and delivers up *Mr. Barwick* and his Brother to the Usurpers, p. 117, 118.
- Bradshaw* commits *Mr. Barwick* to Prison, p. 122. Raves against him to *Mr. Otway* and other Gentlemen of *Grey's-Inn*, who ask his Leave to visit and relieve him, p. 133, &c. At last gives leave to one of them, p. 135. By a Warrant under his Hand, p. 136. He endeavours by Threats and fair Words to work

The INDEX.

- work upon Mr. *Barwick*, p. 138. Afterwards kindly receives him, when he applies to get his Bail discharged, p. 159. And railing against *Cromwell*, seems willing to be reconciled to the King, p. 160.
- Bramhall John*, D. D. Bishop of *Derry*, vindicates the Ordination of the Church of *England*, being furnished with Materials by Mr. *Barwick*, p. 174. See p. 424, 439.
- Brown Richard*, a Citizen of *London* of chief Note, by what Means brought back to his Allegiance, p. 79. By his and Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Means, after the Matter had been concerted with Mr. *Barwick*, a Treaty with the King is voted, but the Place of it to be the Isle of *Wight*, p. 105. Recommended by the King as a fit Person to be Governor of the Tower, if it could be seized for his Majesty's Use, p. 335. Honoured after the Restoration with the Title of a Baronet, and the chief Command of the City *Militia*, p. 79.
- Brown Robert*, Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower, moved with his Prisoner Mr. *Barwick's* Piety and Patience, does him all the good Offices in his Power, p. 143. And being with his Wife and Family converted by him to the Church of *England*, quits the Service of the Usurpers, *ibid.* Had his Child baptized by him after the Rites of that Church, p. 144. Regards Mr. *Barwick* all his Life after no less than if he had been his Father, p. 150.
- Brownrigg Ralph*, D. D. Master of *Katharine Hall* in *Cambridge*, corrupts Mr. *Barwick's* Pupil *Anthony Walker*, p. 16, 17. Being Vice-Chancellor he hinders a Piece written against the solemn League and Covenant, from being proposed to the Senate of the University for their Approbation, p. 41. (See the Notes p. 35, 36.) And for what Reason, p. 41. Not hearty in providing for the Security of the Episcopal Succession, p. 201, 238. Though himself a Bishop, *viz.* of *Exeter*, p. 218. And though in other Instances a great Example of Christian Fortitude, p. 249. But being indulged the Liberty of preaching by the Usurpers, seems too cautious of offending them, p. 218, 219. He dies, p. 238.
- Brunsell*, p. 529.
- Burrows John*, p. 396.
- Busby Richard*, D. D. Head Master of the King's School at *Westminster*, p. 337. See the Preface.

C.

Cambridge University sends Money and Plate to the King, p. 22, 23. Her Members barbarously used by *Cromwell* on that Account, and driven from their Colleges, p. 29, &c.

The I N D E X.

Her Heads of Houses confined in the Hold of a Ship, and exposed to sale for Slaves, p. 32, 42. Most of her ejected Members repair to the King's Camp, p. 45. Her Complaint by whom drawn up and printed, p. 32, 33.

Chamberlain William, D. D. one of the first Doctors created at Cambridge after the Restoration, p. 283.

Chancellor Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, writes Mr. *Barwick* Word, that the King is well pleased with all he does, p. 198. With how much Zeal he pursues his Majesty's Orders about securing the Episcopal Succession, p. 205. Congratulates Mr. *Barwick's* Escape from the Treachery that disappointed Sir *George Booth's* Expedition, p. 208. Presses pursuing the King's Business, especially in *Scotland*, p. 220, 221. Reproves the Negligence of the Bishop of *Oxford* and others in the Affair of the Church, p. 210, 239, 245, 247, 249. Directs Mr. *Barwick* to get it intimated to General *Monk*, that the King himself or one of his Brothers would bring Forces to his Assistance against *Lambert*, if he would come over to the King's Interest, p. 221. (see p. 433.) Sends him Letters from the King to Colonel *Clobery* and Mr. *Otway*, and tells him his Majesty has no other Hopes in General *Monk*, than from his Negotiation with Colonel *Clobery*, p. 228, 229. Writes to him to get Information, what the *Scotch* Nobility had desired of Gen. *Monk*, and what he had promised them, in the Meeting they had just before his Expedition into *England*, p. 258. Commends the General's Conduct, and the Assistance given him by Mr. *Barwick's* two Friends, p. 265.

Carlisle, Lady, p. 386, 388, 391, 395.

Challoner, on what Occasion put to Death by the Rebels, p. 64.

Chapter of *St. Paul's*, of how many Canons it consists, p. 312.

The only Survivor of them not in Priest's Orders, with two Probationers, assume the Right of the whole, p. 313. And commit other Abuses, p. 314, &c. What Trouble this occasioned Dr. *Barwick*, p. 315. How many with the Dean administer the Affairs of the Church, p. 317. What they contribute to its Repairs, *ibid.* How generously they deal with the College of Physicians, p. 321.

Chap. He, & Hen. C. & H. C. p. 383, 394.

Charles the First, to end a Contest in *St. John's* College in Cambridge about the Mastership, orders the Cause to be brought before him in Council, p. 12. Acquaints that University with his extreme Want in a Letter of *June* 29, 1642, p. 22. And in another Letter offers to secure their Plate, p. 23. To what Streights reduced, p. 27, 28. Thinking of throwing himself into the *Scotch* Army, for fear of being besieged in *Oxford*, directs Mr. *Barwick*,

The INDEX.

Barwick, that Mr. *Cresset* be in Readiness to serve him, p. 65. Being condemned by the Rebels to a close Confinement in *Warwick* Castle, surrenders himself to the *Scots*, p. 67. Sold by them to the *English* Rebels for two hundred thousand Pounds, contrary to their solemn Promise, is delivered up to their Commissioners, p. 68. And by them has new Servants put about him, among whom Mr. *Cresset* obtains the Care of his Majesty's Bed-chamber and Diet, p. 70. Brought to *Holdenby* Castle and made close Prisoner, p. 71. In the view of *Naseby* Field, to mortify him with the Remembrance of his Defeat there, p. 72. In this Solitude he seems to have received no Letter or Message but through Mr. *Barwick's* and Mr. *Cresset's* Hands, p. 73. Being soon to have been sent for thence to *London*, Cornet *Foyce* by *Cromwell's* Artifice seizes on him, and carries him to the Army's Head Quarters, p. 76. Where Access being allowed to him, he permits Mr. *Barwick* to attend him, p. 77. And sends him frequently to *London*, to sollicite his Friends to procure Peace on the best Terms they can, p. 79. The Parliament and the Army declaring War against each other, he orders Mr. *Barwick* to take Arms and join the latter, to observe how they stand affected to his Majesty, p. 80. Led into the Isle of *Wight* by *Cromwell's* Artifice, he is made a close Prisoner there, p. 82. And all addressing to him without the Rebels leave made capital, *ibid.* Deposites a Cypher with Mr. *Barwick* at *London* by Mr. *Cresset's* Means, p. 86. Concerts Measures with the *Scotch* Commissioners for his Restoration, p. 96. By whose Help he attempts an Escape, and how disappointed, p. 87, &c. He writes Letters on that Subject, p. 380, &c. Disappointed also of his Hope from Duke *Hamilton's* Expedition, joined by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, p. 92, 93. His Affairs being again desperate, in a Letter all of his own Hand writing, he gives a noble Testimony of Mr. *Barwick's* Fidelity to him under his greatest Difficulties, p. 103. Sends to Mr. *Royston* the Bookseller to have all Things in Readiness for printing some Papers he should soon send him, p. 370. And sent him no Papers after that, but his 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, *ibid.* Is informed by Mr. *Barwick's* Letter, of a new Attempt undertaken for his Restoration, and by whom, p. 104, &c. And of the Treaty voted with his Majesty, and by whose Means procured, p. 105. Is hurried from that Treaty to the Scaffold, p. 114.

Charles the Second, of a thousand Pounds sent him by Lady *Savile*, orders two hundred Pounds to be applied to Mr. *Barwick's* Relief in Prison, p. 128. Would have purchased his Liberty by the Exchange of one that attempted to assassinate him, p. 129. What a Sense of Mr. *Barwick's* Sufferings for

The I N D E X.

him he expressed to his Brother, *ibid.* Thankfully acknowledges his Service in a Letter to him, all written in his own Hand, p. 178. Mentions in what Streights he is, and how frugal in his Expences, p. 179. Informed by Mr. *Barwick* of Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Readiness to serve him, he incloses a Letter to Sir *Thomas* in one to Mr. *Barwick*, p. 181, 182. In another Letter to Mr. *Barwick* commends his Endeavours to bring over Colonel *Venables*, Colonel *Clobery*, and Colonel *Redman* to his Interest, and intimates that he will write to General *Monk*, as Mr. *Barwick* advised, p. 189, 190. Though he had received no Answer to a Letter he had formerly writ to him, p. 269. Sends a Letter to Sir *John Greenville* with one inclosed to be sent to General *Monk* commanding in *Scotland*, p. 192. Therein leaving the Method of serving him to the General, and promising to act as he should advise, p. 195. Not only favours, but zealously promotes what Mr. *Barwick* proposed for preserving the Episcopal Succession, p. 204. Waits in Disguise on the Coast of *France*, to put himself at the Head of Sir *George Booth's* Expedition, if it should succeed; but upon its Miscarriage crosses that Country to the *Pyrenees*, p. 219. Hopes nothing from General *Monk*, but through Mr. *Barwick's* Negotiation, p. 229. What Instructions he sends for his Commissioners of *London* and *Westminster*, p. 232, &c. From the General's several Proceedings compared together, he judges of the Design of his last Expedition into *England*, p. 259. By his Advice he removes to *Breda*, p. 263. On Pretence of visiting his Sister, p. 264. On the meeting of the new Parliament he is proclaimed King thro' all his Dominions, p. 270. Graciously receives Mr. *Barwick* sent to him by the Bishops, p. 272. After his Return being informed by Mr. *Barwick* of Mr. *Cresset's* great Merit, he complains to have known it no sooner, p. 294. And when Mr. *Barwick* presses for some Reward for him, his Majesty kindly reproves him for not speaking for himself, p. 295. And upon his declining to be made a Bishop, advances him to the Deanery of *Durham*, p. 301. And in a few Months removes him to that of *St. Paul's*, p. 305. Gives leave under his Broad Seal to the Convocation to restore the Discipline of the Church, p. 326. How little Esteem he had for Bishop *Gauden*, p. 368.

Chicheley, Mr. p. 454.

Chirk-Castle, Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Seat, destroyed by the Rebels, p. 220.

Choir, its Musick restored to *St. Paul's* by Dr. *Barwick*, p. 311.

Why it had not been done by his Predecessor, *ibid.*

Cholmley, Sir *Henry* of *Yorkshire*, one of those who in the several Counties

The I N D E X.

- Counties waited to receive his Majesty's Orders from Mr. *Barwick*, p. 231, 506.
- Cholmley Henry*, Sir Henry's Brother, p. 494.
- Cholmley*, Sir Henry's Son, p. 490, 507, 508.
- Church*, Cathedral, each has its Dean and Canons restored to it, p. 287.
- Church*, of *Carlisle*, *Chester*, *Durham*, *Ely*, *St. Paul's*, &c. See *Carlisle*, *Chester*, &c.
- Church of England*, how deplorable after *Worcester* Fight, p. 199, 236. Its Discipline lost, and its Worship neglected, p. 199. Grievances not to be remedied but in a full Synod of Bishops, p. 202. Its Episcopal Succession in Danger of falling, (most of the Bishops being dead, and the rest very old) if not soon provided for, p. 199. What hindered making that Provision, p. 200, 201. See *Bishops*.
- Circumcellians*, a Sect of *Donatists*, p. 169.
- Clarges*, Sir Thomas, General Monk's Lady's Brother, whence concluded to have used his Endeavours with the General to bring him over to the King's Interest, p. 196. See also p. 496, 528, 531.
- Clergy*, some of them recommended to the Episcopal Office, who did not answer the King's Expectation, p. 244. Some of them upon the Restoration too rigid Exactors of their Right, p. 320. A few of them slack in their Duty, but the greatest part of them not to be deterred from it, p. 249. Yet all of them how much reviled by the Enemies of the Church, p. 337, 338.
- Clobery*, Colonel John, commands a Regiment in Scotland under General Monk, p. 161. Had married Mr. *Otway's* Wife's Sister, p. 162. Is dealt with by Mr. *Otway* to use his Interest with the General, which was considerable, to bring him over to the King's Service, *ibid.* And that by his Majesty's Direction to Mr. *Barwick*, p. 187, 189. What Arguments he likely used to effect this, p. 196. Is not yet entrusted with the General's secret Design, p. 221. Yet the rather employed by him to purge the Army of all suspected Officers, because the General knew he wished well to the King, p. 222. Sent by him before his March into *England*, with two other Commissioners, to *London*, on what Pretence, and with what real Design, p. 223. Consults almost daily with Mr. *Otway*, now returned from *Scotland*, and with Colonel *Redman*, and Mr. *Barwick*, *ibid.* Receives a Letter from the King by Mr. *Barwick's* Hands, p. 228. Will not suffer Mr. *Otway* and Mr. *Barwick* to despair of the Royal Cause, when after the City Gates pulled down, &c. all the Royalists begin to despair,

The I N D E X.

- p. 229. On what he grounds his Hopes, *ibid.* Sent with Colonel *Lidcot* to the Parliament by the General to desire they would dissolve themselves, and call a new Parliament, p. 255. Informs Mr. *Barwick*, with what Indignation this Message was received by some of the warmest Members, p. 264. His Interest with General *Monk* recommended to the King by some Men of Note, who knew not that his Majesty was before apprized thereof, p. 265, 266. What Acknowledgment of his Service Mr. *Barwick* had encouraged him to expect from the King's Letters, his Majesty is by the same Person petitioned to make good, p. 274, 275. See also p. 420, 429, 434, 451, 457, 467, 468, 474, 482, 489, 509, 516, 521, 524.
- College of St. *John* the Evangelist in *Cambridge*, what Money they sent to the King at *Nottingham*, p. 22. And what Plate, p. 24.
- Collins Samuel*, D. D. Provost of King's College in *Cambridge*, and Regius Professor of Divinity, ejected by the Rebels, p. 31. See *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, P. 2. p. 150.
- Consecration of Bishops, See Bishops.
- Cook John*, condemned with *Hugh Peters* and other Regicides, would have the King petitioned to respit *Hugh Peters's* Execution, till he should be brought to a Sense of his Crimes, though he had that Day defended his Innocence, when Dr. *Gunning* was exhorting that Wretch to repent, p. 298, 299.
- Cooke George*, Bishop of *Hereford*, p. 548.
- Cooper John*, p. 421, 459.
- Cosins John*, D. D. Bishop of *Durham*, p. 355, 422, 424, 544, 547. See his Life by Dr. *Basire*. Also *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, P. 2. p. 58, &c. 152. *Wood Athen.* Oxon. Vol. 1, p. 541.
- Covenant. See League.
- Counties, Associated, which, p. 29.
- Court, called the High-Court of Justice, appointed to continue six Months in the Year, p. 153. Without Witness or Law condemned and executed all that were suspected to favour the King, *ibid.* How long it raged against Mr. *Barwick*, *ibid.* Is at length abolished, *ibid.*
- Cresset Francis*, a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Shropshire*, p. 55. Long entertained in that Quality by the Bishop of *Durham*, and at last (when the Church was going to ruin) dismissed with a Reward of his Service, to serve the Earl of *Pembroke*, with Hopes of a better Income, p. 56. Into whose Affection he easily insinuates himself by his Diligence and Assiduity, *ibid.* Resolves to preserve his Duty inviolably to the

The I N D E X.

the King, nor decline any due Instance of it to his Lord, p. 57. The Loss of his Father and of one of his Brothers slain fighting for the King, exasperates him still more against the Rebels, *ibid.* But Mr. *Barwick* advises him to conceal his Resentment, and instead of taking Arms openly against them, to do what he can secretly for the King's Service, p. 58. Which he does by the help of his Lord, even without his Privy, p. 59. Procuring Passports for some *Londoners* to trade in all the Quarters of the Parliament Army, *ibid.* By which Means Letters, Messages, Money, &c. are safely conveyed to the King, p. 60. When his Majesty is going to throw himself into the *Scotch* Army, he directs Mr. *Barwick* that this Gentleman be in Readiness to serve him, as Occasion shall offer, p. 65. Accordingly by Mr. *Barwick's* Procurement he is chosen one of the King's new Domesticks, p. 70. Who receives no Letters or Messages but through his and Mr. *Barwick's* Hands, p. 73. By his Help the King lodged a Cypher with Mr. *Barwick*, and weekly transmits Letters to and fro to be interpreted thereby, p. 86, 94, 97, 103. With what others he concert Measures for his Majesty's Escape out of Prison, p. 87, &c. Waiting on King *Charles* the Second sometime after the Restoration with Mr. *Barwick's* Testimonial of his great Services, how graciously he is received, p. 294. See p. 380, 388, 389, 392, 395.

Creyghton Robert, D. D. p. 400.

Cromwell Henry, tamely yielding to the King's Enemies, and his own perfidious Friends in *Ireland*, is turned out, p. 187.

Cromwell Oliver, hearing the University of *Cambridge* are going to send their Plate to the King, lies in wait to surprize it, p. 25. But being outwitted by them, and the Plate conveyed safely through by-Ways, revenges himself on the University, p. 29, &c. Pretending a great Deference for the Parliament, underhand employs Cornet *Foyce* to surprize the King at *Holdenby*, and carry him to the Army's Head Quarters, p. 75, 76. Soon after by Fraud seduces his Majesty into the Isle of *Wight*, and confines him in *Carisbrook* Castle, p. 82. On Pretence of securing him against the Attempts of Assassins, most likely of his own employing, p. 82, 83. Defeats Sir *Marmaduke Langdale's* Forces in the fight of the *Scotch* Army, whom Sir *Marmaduke* had joined upon their Irruption into *England*, p. 100. After putting the *Scots* to flight, he marches immediately into *Scotland*, and surprizes that Country, to prevent their new Recruits, p. 104. Imprisons in the Cathedral of *Durham* the *Scotch* taken at *Dunbar* Fight, till they had burnt all the Wood-work therein to

The I N D E X.

- preserve themselves from perishing with Cold, p. 304, 305. Flushed with his Victory at *Worcester*, after subduing the three Kingdoms with Fraud and Perjury, he meditates Violence against the Accomplices of his Usurpation, p. 154. For which he is hated by the Rebels themselves, p. 155. Particularly by *Bradshaw*, whom he had turned out, p. 155, 159. Who rails against his Tyranny to Mr. *Barwick*, p. 160. Yet he long disappoints all their Attempts against him, *ibid.* And by what Means, *ibid.* Instead of destroying all the King's Friends, as some advise, he decimates the Estates of the Laity, and puts the Clergy under a severe Interdict, p. 164. Being jealous of Colonel *Venables*, he puts him over the Forces raised for an Expedition into *America*, p. 185. And when he is contriving with those Forces to restore the King, he raises him at Midnight, and forces him to march immediately for *Portsmouth*, p. 186. See some Account of him and his Family, *Wood Fasti Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 768, 769, 770.
- Cromwell Richard*, succeeds his Father in the Protectorship, p. 180. How unlike his Father, and unequal to that Post, p. 181. Easily yields to the King's Enemies, and his own false Friends, p. 187.
- Cypher*, that used by the Chancellor and Mr. *Barwick* in their Correspondence, p. 408, 409.

D.

- D**, *Aubigny*, Lady, conveying the King's Commission of Array to *London*, falls into the Rebels Hands, p. 64. See p. 396.
- Delft*, *James Van*, p. 118.
- Derby*, Countess of, promotes her Chaplain Mr. *Rutter* to the See of the *Isle of Man*, p. 300.
- Derby*, Earl of. See *Stanley*.
- Derry*, Bishop of. See *Bramhall*.
- Desborough*, sent by *Cromwell* at Midnight to order Colonel *Venables* to march immediately towards *Portsmouth*, with the Forces raised for the *American* Expedition, of which *Cromwell* had given him the Command, suspecting him in the King's Interest, and now hastens his Departure with them, for fear of his employing them against the Usurpation, p. 186. See some account of him, *Wood Fasti Oxon.* Vol. 2. Col. 769.
- Devereux Robert*, Earl of *Essex*, General of the Rebellion, p. 49.
- Discipline* of the Church, not to be restored but in a full Synod of Bishops, p. 202. Who hindered the restoring of it, when

The I N D E X.

when leave was granted to a Synod for that Purpose, p. 326.

Disquisitions, a Piece written at *Cambridge* against the solemn League and Covenant, intituled, *Certain Disquisitions*, &c. seized at the Press by the Rebels, and all but a few Copies burnt, p. 33, 34, 35. What learned Men joined together in writing it, p. 36, 37, 38, 39.

Dolben John, D. D, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, p. 295. Sent with Dr. *Barwick* to exhort the condemned Regicides to Repentance, thought *Hugh Peters* ought to be treated less mildly, p. 296, 297. Why neither he nor Dr. *Barwick* would at the Request of *Cook* petition his Majesty to respite *Hugh Peters's* Execution, till he be brought to a Sense of his Sins, p. 299.

Duppa Brian, D. D. successively Bishop of *Salisbury* and *Winchester*, p. 218, 365, 366, 367, 410, 412, 425, 456, 488, 520, 522.

Durham, Bishop of. See *Morton*.

Durham Cathedral, besides the common Sacrilege of the Times, suffered greatly by the *Scotch* Prisoners confined there by *Cromwell*, p. 304, 305.

Durham Chapter, not severe to their Tenants in their Fines after the Restoration, p. 303. Give up their own Rights in favour of their Successors, *ibid.* What Custom they observe in letting Leases, p. 308.

Dowcett Abraham, p. 380, 384, 385, 387, 392, 395.

E.

Earle *John*, D. D. p. 281, 368, 452, 522, 547.

Elborow Thomas, Vicar of *Chiswick*, entertains his sick Tutor Dr. *Barwick* in his House with great Respect, p. 333.

Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ proved to be written by the Royal Martyr, p. 368, &c. See Bishop *Gauden*, and Dr. *Walker*.

Ely, Bishop of. see *Wrenn*.

Ersfield, Sir *Thomas*, entertains Mr. *Barwick* soon after his Enlargement out of Prison for some Time at his House in *Suffex*, and accommodates him with the Use of his excellent Library, p. 158, 169. On his Death the Lady *Ersfield* his Widow takes Mr. *Barwick* with her to her Sister Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Lady, of *Chirk* Castle in *Denbighshire*, p. 169.

Effex, Earl of. See *Devereux*.

Exeter, Bishop of. See *Brownrigg*.

The INDEX

F.

- F** *Action.* See *Independent, Presbyterian, Puritan.*
- Fairfax*, Lord, p. 25, 245, 526.
- Fair Ridg*, a Village in *Lancashire*, p. 2.
- Falkland*, Lord, his Letter to *St. John's College*, p. 551.
- Fell John*, D. D. where he began his Friendship with *Dr. Barwick*, p. 281.
- Fidler Hay* or *Haugh*, a Village in *Lancashire*, p. 2.
- Field Theophilus*, D. D. Bishop of *Hereford*, p. 548.
- Firebrace*, Mr. (afterwards Sir) *Henry*, and what others concert Measures for the King's Escape out of *Carisbrook Castle*, p. 87, &c. How disappointed, p. 89, &c. Lord *Clarendon's* Account of that Transaction set right, p. 89, 90, 91. See p. 380, &c.
- Flectwood*, p. 471.
- Fothergil Thomas*, Fellow of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, Mr. *Barwick's* Tutor, assists him not only in his Learning, but in the Streightness of his Circumstances, p. 9. By his Pupils Interest is afterwards made Prebendary of *York*, p. 287. Exhorts him in more than one Letter to take Care not only of others, but of himself, p. 288.
- Frewen*, Accepted D. D. Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, p. 218.
- Fuller Thomas*, D. D. the Church Historian, p. 422.
- Fuller William*, D. D. Dean of *Ely*, and afterwards of *Durham*, p. 301, 443, 444.
- Fraiser*, Dr. p. 381, 386, 391.

G.

G *Auden John*, D. D. recommends Mr. *Anthony Walker*, perverted in his Principles, to be Chaplain to the Earl of *Warwick*, the Rebels Admiral, to whom himself had been Chaplain formerly, p. 362. When the rest of the Clergy are turned out, he keeps his Living, and takes the Covenant, p. 363. After the Restoration is made Bishop of *Exeter*, though he had abjured Episcopacy, and is said to have advised the King to abjure it in *Scotland*, p. 364. Suing afterwards for the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, to prove himself worthy of it, pretends to have been the Author of *Ἐικὼν Βασιλική*, and to have put it out in the King's Name, p. 366, 367. But this not till after the Death, not only of the King himself, but of all others that he imagines could give any
Testimony

The I N D E X.

- Testimony to the King's writing it, p. 367. Failing of *Winchester*, he obtains the See of *Worcester*, *ibid.* And dies soon after, *ibid.* How little esteemed by King *Charles* the Second, p. 268.
- Gilby*, Sir *Theophilus*, p. 494.
- Gilpin Bernard*, Rector of *Houghton in le Spring* about the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, p. 291.
- Goad Thomas*, LL. D. Fellow of King's College in *Cambridge*, and Law Professor, p. 31.
- Gr.* perhaps *Grigson*, p. 179.
- Greenville Bernard*, p. 528.
- Greenville*, Sir *John*, afterwards Earl of *Bath*, p. 191. Receives a Letter from the King with an inclosed to be sent to General *Monk*, then commanding in *Scotland*, p. 192, Which he sends by the General's Brother Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, p. 192, 193, &c. Being at length admitted to a private Conference with the General, is acquainted with his Design to restore the King, p. 262, 263. Hastens to the King with that good News, and in the General's Name desires him to remove immediately to *Breda*, p. 263. See p. 511.
- Greg*, and *Grig*, p. 460, 466, 527.
- Grigson*, p. 460, 466.
- Griffith Matthew*, D. D. p. 518, 526.
- Grosvenour Roger*, Son of Sir *Richard*, Son in Law to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, with what others stand ready waiting the King's Orders, p. 183, 184.
- Gunning Peter*, A. M. Fellow of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*, with what others joins in writing a Piece against the solemn League and Covenant, p. 33, 39. At *Oxford*, when the Tract intituled *Certain Disquisitions* was published there, p. 34, 35. When expelled *Cambridge*, and why, p. 35. One of the first created Doctors at *Cambridge* after the Restoration, p. 282. Friendly admonishes *Hugh Peters* of the Heinousness of his Crimes, when under Sentence of Death, p. 299. Sent for by Dr. *Barwick*, to assist him in his last Hours, gives him the holy Sacrament, p. 342. And preaches his Funeral Sermon, p. 343. Afterwards made Bishop of *Chichester*, and then of *Ely*, p. 342.
- Gwin Owen*, D. D. Master of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, p. 11. The Contest for the Mastership on his Decease, p. 11, 12.

The INDEX.

H.

- H**ales, Bernard, D. D. one of the first created Doctors at Cambridge after the Restoration, p. 283.
- Hamilton, James Duke of, prepares to make an Irruption into England with Scotch Forces, to be joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, p. 92, 93.
- Hammond Henry, D. D. where he began his Friendship with Dr. Barwick, p. 279, 280. Designed by the King for the See of Worcester, of which he was most worthy, with what trifling Objections opposed by the Bishop of Oxford, p. 239, &c. More worthy of a Throne in Heaven, to which he soon retired, p. 243.
- Hartop, p. 179.
- Haslerigg, Sir Arthur, p. 455, 470, 489, 529.
- Haye, Jaques de la, p. 179.
- Hawles, Mr. p. 522.
- Heath John, p. 512.
- Henchman Humphrey, D. D. Bishop of London, officiates at Dr. Barwick's Burial, p. 342, 343. See *Juxon* mistaken for him, 344. Note lin. 25. See also p. 464.
- Henderson, the Champion of the Scotch Presbytery, so foiled in a Dispute with King Charles the First at Newcastle, though the King was shut up from all his Friends, that he died soon after, as was said, of the Disgrace thereby brought upon him from his own Countrymen, p. 372.
- Herbert, Edward, Baron of Cherbury, with what others stands ready, waiting the King's Orders, p. 183.
- Hereford, Bishop of. See *Cooke, Field, Monk*.
- Hereford, Bishoprick, p. 548.
- Hobbes, his cruel Doctrine, p. 163. See p. 430.
- Holder Thomas, Esq; Auditor General to the Duke of York, p. 94. Writes Dr. Peter Barwick an account of what he was privy to of his Brother's Management of the King's Affairs about the Time of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's Expedition, p. 94, &c. Is intimately acquainted with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Lady Savile, and Mr. Barwick, p. 96. And meets the last of them two or three Times a Week about the King's Business, p. 97. And by his Help writes twice to the King in the Isle of Wight, *ibid*. And by Means of Mr. Cresset receives his Majesty's Commands from thence, *ibid*. Betrayed after this, and made Prisoner, he persuades Mr. Barwick to undertake his Province, p. 99. Recommends him by Letter to the Lady Savile, p. 100. And receives many good Offices from him, p. 101.
- Holdsworth,*

The INDEX.

- Holdsworth Richard*, afterwards D. D. p. 11, 22, 31, 36. See *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, P. 2. p. 79, 80.
- Howlet, Samuel*, Fellow of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, worthy of what Praise, p. 345, 346. Had always a great Esteem for his Tutor Dr. *Barwick*, p. 349. Writes his Epitaph, p. 344, 345. Has his Library left him by Will, p. 349. And soon after died himself, p. 346.
- Hewet, John*, D. D. condemned by the Rebels, desires Mr. *Barwick* to take charge of what Money he had collected for the King's Subsistence, and to assist him on the Scaffold, p. 175, 176. Before he lays down his Head upon the Block, he gives him a Ring with this Inscription, *Alter Aristides*, which Mr. *Barwick* ever after wears for his Sake, p. 176. What, in behalf of his Widow and Son, Mr. *Barwick* petitions the King at *Breda*, p. 278.
- Holdenby Castle*, p. 71.
- Hulet*, try'd as one of the King's Executioners in Masks, p. 296.

I.

- I**nstructions sent by his Majesty for his Commissioners of *London* and *Westminster*, p. 232, &c.
- Foyce*, Cornet, by *Cromwell's* Artifice surprizes the King at *Holdenby* with a Body of Horse, and carries him to the Head Quarters of the Army, p. 75, 76. Pretends to do this of his own Head, to procure the Liberty of the King and People, p. 76, 77.
- Funto*, sitting in *Derby House*, discover Mr. *Holder's* Correspondence with the King, and commit him to Prison, p. 98.
- Justice*, High Court of. See *Court. Keeble*.
- Fuxon William*, D. D. Bishop of *London*, p. 88, 211, 218, 308, 344. (Note lin. 25. mistaken for Bishop *Henckman*) 396, 397, 404, 405, 419, 428, 434, 453, 460, 461, 479, 490.

K.

- K**eeble, President of the execrable High Court of Justice condemns without Witness, and executes whoever is suspected of favouring the Royal Cause, p. 153.
- King, Henry*, D. D. Bishop of *Chichester*, p. 218.
- Knight*, Colonel (afterwards Sir) *Ralph* one of the chief Officers in the *Scotch* Army, why supposed to have been instrumental in persuading General *Monk* to declare for the King, p. 197.
- 3
- Lacy*,

The INDEX.

L.

Lacy William, B. D. Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, one of the Authors of *Certain Disquisitions, &c.* written at Cambridge against the solemn League and Covenant, p. 36. Taken in the War and put into Prison, is relieved by Mr. Barwick, though basely deserted by one that was more able and more obliged to help him, p. 107, 108.

Laborne, p. 506.

Lambert, General of the Rebels, having defeated Sir George Booth and his Party, wastes their Lands, pulls down Sir Thomas Middleton's House, and being strengthened with Forces from Ireland, tramples upon the new Commonwealth, and marches against General Monk, p. 220. Is much weakened by the Revolt of the Irish Auxiliaries, p. 224. His unbridled Ambition distasteful to many, who yet were suspected to be no Friends to the King, p. 225. See p. 257, 470, 471, 480.

Lane, Robert, D. D. Competitor with Mr. Holdsworth, for the Mastership of St. John's College in Cambridge, p. 11.

Laney (I suppose Benjamin) D. D. p. 463.

Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, afterwards Lord, with a choice Battalion joins the Scots making an Iruption into England, p. 93. Both at Home and in Scotland holds close Correspondence with Mr. Holder, p. 96. Taken by the Rebels and condemned, what the Garison of Pomfret enterprize to save his Life, or revenge his Death, p. 109, 110. Escapes out of Prison by the Contrivance of the Lady Savile, and absconds some Weeks in a Hay Stack, p. 111. Then going to London in the Habit of a Clergyman, is there concealed by Mr. Barwick, till he finds Means to get beyond Sea, p. 112. On his Defeat the King's Cause is again desperate, p. 101, 102. See p. 514.

Laud, William, D. D. Archbishop of Canterbury, opposes the Rage of the Faction against the Church and King, p. 20, 21. At length sacrificed to their Rage, and why, p. 21. Worthy of what Praise, p. 20.

League, solemn, and Covenant. A Treatise written against it by several learned Men of Cambridge, p. 33. Which had been publicly approved by the Senate of that University, but for the Pusillanimity of the Vice-Chancellor, p. 41. As another Treatise on the same Argument was some Years afterwards written and publicly approved by the University of Oxford, p. 43.

The I N D E X.

- Legg, William*, Colonel, Groom of the King's Bed-chamber, &c. p. 392, 395. Perhaps meant also by *W. L.* p. 388, 390.
- Leonard*, Mr. p. 491. Mrs. p. 503.
- Lesley David*, General of the *Scotch* Rebels, having fought with too much Success against the King and the Church, at last taking Arms for the King, is made Prisoner at *Worcester* Fight, p. 146, 147. And by *Mr. Barwick* brought to a better Opinion of the Church of *England*, and its Government, p. 147, 149.
- Lesley John*, Bishop of *Ross*, p. 149.
- Letters*, by what Means safely conveyed to the King, through the Rebels Army, p. 59. Of the King written in Cypher, and taken at *Naseby* Fight, by whom decyphered, p. 251, 252. Of *Mr. Barwick* and others intercepted by the Garison of *Dunkirk*, p. 250. And by that Means all Correspondence between *London* and *Brussels* rendered suspected, dubious, and uncertain, p. 252. What the safest Way of sending them, p. 253.
- Leybourn William*, Mr. *Barwick's* Townsman of an ancient Family in *Westmoreland*, lost his Life for the King in the Field of Battel, at the beginning of the Rebellion, p. 1, 2. see p. 4.
- Leyden*, p. 401.
- Lidcot*, Colonel *Leonard*, sent with Colonel *Clobery*, by General *Monk*, to the Parliament, to desire they would dissolve that House, and appoint a short Day for the meeting of a new one, p. 255.
- Lockheart*, p. 502.
- London*, Bishop of. See *Henchman*, *Fuxon*.
- Londoners*, with what Acclamations they receive General *Monk*, declaring against the Tyranny of the Usurpation, p. 253.
- Lucas*, Sir *Gervais*, p. 467.
- Ludlow*, the only Survivor of the Regicides, not afraid to return into *England*, by whose Encouragement, p. 378. see p. 477.
- Lupton Roger*, LL. D. Founder of *Sedberg* School, p. 6.
- Lushington Thomas*, D. D. formerly the King's Chaplain, not to be permitted to officiate again as such, till his suspected Faith and Principles should be inquired into, p. 272.
- Low*, or *Loe*, Mr. Merchant in *London*, p. 388, 389, 396.

M.

MAN, Island, Bishoprick of it refused by all as a kind of Banishment, is accepted by *Mr. Barwick*, p. 245, 246. And afterwards at the Countess of *Derby's* Request resigned in favour of her Chaplain, p. 300.

The I N D E X.

despair of him, p. 229. What the King's only Hope of bringing General *Monk* over to his Interest, p. 228, 229. At length he openly declares against the Tyranny of those, who had hitherto been at the Helm, with what Applause of the City of *London*, p. 253, 254. Why he does not yet restore the excluded Members, p. 254. Sends to the House to desire them to dissolve that Parliament, and immediately call a new one, p. 255. With what Rage that Message is received by some of the warmest Members, *ibid.* and p. 264. He gives order to clear the Doors from the Soldiers that kept out the secluded Members, p. 255. Not yet daring openly to oppose the Attempts of the Presbyterians, he declares for leaving to the next Parliament the manner of restoring his Country's Privileges, p. 257. Yet is thought to favour their Opinion, who were for restoring the King conformably to the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, *ibid.* From his several Proceedings compared together, the King makes some Conjecture what he designs, p. 259. With Regard to the Act against any one's being chosen Member of next Parliament, who had bore Arms for the King, he freely tells those, who privately ask his Opinion, that he knows no Injury in every one's using his ancient Right in voting, p. 260. Yet none of the Royalists will stand for Parliament Men without first consulting him, *ibid.* Not contented to have purged his Officers, he makes the common Soldiers all promise to submit every thing to the Determination of the new Parliament, p. 262. At length admitting Sir *John Greenville* to a private Conference, he imparts to him his Design of restoring the King, and by him desires his Majesty to remove immediately from *Brussels* to *Breda*, p. 263. But thinks it not yet safe to commit any thing to writing, *ibid.* The King and the Chancellor approve of his Proceedings, p. 265. See also p. 397, 433, 455, 457, 467, 469, 496, 499, 506, 507, 509, 512, 519, 521, 531, 532, 533, 534.

Monk Nicholas, Rector of *Kilkhampton* in *Cornwall*, sent by Sir *John Greenville* with the King's Letter to his Brother the General in *Scotland*, p. 192, &c. On pretence of visiting his Brother, and consulting with him about the Marriage of his Daughter, p. 193, 194. Arrives in *Scotland* soon after Mr. *Otway* got to *Edinburgh*, on Pretence also of visiting Colonel *Clobery*, p. 195. This gives some Hopes of bringing over the General to the King's Interest, *ibid.*

Montague Richard, D. D. Bishop of *Norwich*, p. 549.

Montrose, James Marquess of, maintains the Royal Cause in *Scotland* with miraculous Success, p. 69. The King obliged to order him to disband his Forces, before the *Scots* dared surrender his Majesty to the *English* Rebels, p. 68.

The I N D E X.

- Mordaunt* Lord, p. 481, 482, 483, 489, 495, 511, 517, 522, 523.
Morley George, D. D. p. 513, 517, 520, 525.
Morton Thomas, D. D. Bishop of *Durham*, takes Mr. *Barwick* his Chaplain into his House, that he may manage the King's Affairs there with less Suspicion, p. 46. Having long entertained Mr. *Cresset* in his Family, as he did other Gentlemen of Condition, when the Church was declining, he dismisses him with a handsome Gratuity, that he may serve the Earl of *Pembroke*, and mend his Fortune, p. 56. Reduced to great Want, and turned out of his Palace, he is forced to retrench his Way of Living, p. 118, 119. And sell his Library to support himself, when above ninety Years old, p. 158. Receives a Letter from Mr. *Barwick* on the Decimation of the Estates of the Laity, and the cruel Interdict against the Clergy, p. 164, &c. On what Occasion he is pretended to have in Parliament confirmed the Fable of the *Nagg's-Head* Consecration, p. 171. To refute which Scandal, he sends for Mr. *Barwick* and a publick Notary from *London*, to witness his Protestation to the contrary, p. 172. And having got it also attested by the Peers in and about *London*, to make it publick, p. 173, 174. Sojourns with Sir *Henry Yelverton*, and is entertained with great Esteem by him, p. 213. Sends for Mr. *Barwick* thither to assist him on his Death-bed, *ibid*. Dying there is honourably buried by Sir *Henry*, and his Funeral Sermon preached, and his Epitaph composed by Mr. *Barwick*, both afterwards published by him, with an Account of the Bishop's Life, and dedicated to King *Charles* the Second, *ibid*. See also an account of him by another of his Chaplains Dr. *Joseph Nelson*, Prebendary of *Durham*, and Rector of *Sedgfield*.

N.

- N** *Eal*, Archbishop of *York*, p. 445.
Nelson Gilbert, Head Master of *Sedberg* School, a pleasant Man, that taught Latin well, Greek indifferently, p. 6, 7. Why he did not constantly attend the School, p. 6. Taught his Scholars to act Plays, p. 7.
Newport Andrew, p. 484, 493.
Newport Lord, p. 483, 484, 493.
Nicholas, Sir *Edward*, Principal Secretary of State, p. 423, 438, 464, 500, 512, 513.
Nicholas Matthew, LL. D. Dean of *St. Paul's*, p. 305. Why he did not restore the Musick of the Choir to that Cathedral, p. 311. Died before he had enjoyed the Deanery a Year, p. 312.
Norwich, Bishop of. See *Montague*, *Scambler*.
Norwich Diocese, p. 549.

The INDEX.

O.

O Gilby, Lord, Prisoner in the Tower for his Loyalty, stands Godfather to a Child baptized there by his fellow Prisoner Mr. *Barwick*, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, p. 144. Congratulating General *Lestly* upon his Presence at that Function, what Answer he receives from him, p. 148, &c.

Oley Barnabas, B. D. President of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*, safely conducts the University Plate through by-Ways to the King at *Nottingham*, p. 26. Tutor to *Peter*, afterwards Bishop *Gunning*, p. 39. Accommodates Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with his Clerical Habit, in which he escapes to *London*, p. 111.

Ormond, Marquess of, p. 423, 494.

Osborn Richard, the King's Gentleman Usher, p. 89, 387, 388, 396.

Osway Mr. (afterwards Sir) *John*, Fellow of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, p. 119. The first that suffered there for his Loyalty, p. 140, 141. Afterwards Student of *Grey's-Inn*, p. 120. Takes Order from Mr. *Barwick*, dying of a Consumption, where to bury him according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, *ibid.* With others of his Inn difficultly obtains *Bradshaw's* Leave for one of them to visit and relieve Mr. *Barwick* in his Confinement, p. 132, &c. Deputed by his Companions to that Office, with what Joy he finds him in so good Health, p. 136, &c. What Conference he has with him in the Keeper's Absence, p. 137, &c. What Relief he offers him from himself and his Friends, p. 142. His Affinity with Colonel *Clobery* and Colonel *Redman*, p. 161. Whom for some Years he had endeavoured to bring over to the King's Interest, p. 162. With what Hopes of Success, p. 186. Is sent to Colonel *Clobery* in *Scotland* on that Errand by the King's Orders, p. 187. He cheerfully undertakes the Journey at his own Expence, *ibid.* On Pretence of a Visit to his Brother in Law, p. 195. What the King writes to Mr. *Barwick* on that Occasion, p. 189. Why he hoped so well of General *Monk*, when most Men despaired of him, p. 222. Returning to *London* he has frequent Conferences with Colonel *Clobery*, Colonel *Redman*, and Mr. *Barwick*, p. 223. Receives a Letter from the King, p. 188, 228, 473, 474. Who has no Hopes in General *Monk*, but from his Negotiation, p. 229. Why Colonel *Clobery* would not permit either him or Mr. *Barwick* to despair of good Times, *ibid.* Petitions the King by Mr. *Barwick*, for what, p. 273. What Legacy is left him, and honourable mention made of him in Dr. *Barwick's*

The INDEX.

- wick's Will*, p. 348. See also p. 434, 468, 482, 489, 496,
Owen John, D. D. p. 446.
Oxford, Bishop of. See *Skinner*.
Oxford University, by a publick Decree of their Senate approve
 a Treatise written against the solemn League and Covenant,
 p. 43. Is as much hated by the Rebels as *Cambridge*, and if
 Occasion had offered would as readily have set an Example
 of Suffering for her Loyalty to that her Sister University, as
 she bravely followed her's, p. 44, 45.

P.

P *Alden Greg*, p. 211, 429, 490.
Parliament, attempt Innovations, and throw all Things
 into Confusion, p. 19. Sacrifice Archbishop *Laud* and the Earl
 of *Strafford*, *ibid*. Inveigh against the King in their libellous
 Remonstrances, p. 21. And take Arms against him, *ibid*.
 Often promise solemnly to make him more glorious than
 any of his Predecessors, if he'll trust them, and yet disdain-
 fully refuse his Offer of coming to them unarmed, to treat
 of Conditions of Peace, p. 66. And vote him to a close
 Confinement in *Warwick Castle*, even before they have him
 in their Power, p. 67. Bribe the *Scots* to surrender him to
 their Commissioners, and then put new Servants about him, p.
 68, &c. Confine him in *Holdenby Castle*, p. 71. Why rather
 than in *Warwick Castle*, p. 72. Thereby bringing on them-
 selves the publick Hatred, p. 73. And the Complaint of the
 Soldiers, p. 74. Of whom they are afraid, when by *Crom-*
well's Artifice they had got the King into their Hands, and
 offered him more favourable Terms than the Parliament, p.
 75, 76, 77, 78. And therefore they prepare War, declaring
 for the King and Parliament, and the Soldiers for the King
 and People, p. 80. But soon joining with *Cromwell* and other
 Officers, who had imposed on the Simplicity of the com-
 mon Soldiers, they turn out of Place and imprison all that
 are suspected to favour the King, and having by *Cromwell's*
 Artifice seduced his Majesty into the Isle of *Wight*, vote no
 more Addresses to be made to him, p. 82. Place Guards at
 every Passage to his Chamber, and at the very Windows, p.
 85. By their Guards at the Doors of the House, rudely treat
 Crowds of such as petition them on the King's behalf, and
 kill some of them, p. 92. The secluded Members returning
 to their Seats, on *Cromwell's* going into *Scotland*, give Ear to
 those Petitions, p. 104. Repeal the Vote against addressing the
 King, and agree upon a Treaty with him, but the Place of
 it to be the Isle of *Wight*, and why, p. 105. From which
 Treaty

The I N D E X

Treaty they soon hurry him to the Scaffold, p. 114. How cruelly they treat Mr. *Barwick* and his Brother, betrayed in corresponding Abroad, p. 118, &c. See *Barwick*. They deliberate about destroying all the King's Friends, p. 163. But content themselves with decimating the Estates of the Laity, and thundring out a cruel Interdict against the Clergy, p. 164. They make *Richard* Protector on the Death of his Father *Oliver*, p. 180. Their Authority asserted by General *Monk* against those that despised it, p. 222. And their Commands, however invidious, for some Time executed by him, p. 226. Yet they are soon sent to by him, to dissolve that House, and immediately call a new one, p. 255. A Message how ungrateful to many of them, *ibid.* Yet agreed upon, when the secluded Members had got into the House, *ibid.* But none to be chosen of the New Parliament, who had fought for the King against the Old, p. 256. A Vote of how little Advantage to the Faction, p. 260. And how little regarded by General *Monk*. *ibid.* Most of the Members are for restoring the King, but the greatest Part of them on hard Terms, p. 256. Which General *Monk* thinks most reasonable to be left to the next Parliament, p. 257. To which he makes all his Soldiers promise to agree, p. 262. few are chosen Members that favour the Faction, and why, p. 261. On the Meeting of the new Parliament the King is proclaim'd throughout all his Dominions, p. 270. See *Faction, Rebels*.

Paul, St. Paul's Cathedral. The Roof of its Altar, and a little Oratory therein untouch'd by the Flames that consum'd the rest, p. 353. preserv'd by God, as some imagin'd, for the sake of the pious deceased Dean, who constantly offered up his Prayers and Sacrifice there, *ibid.* and as an Earnest of the whole Fabrick's being one Day rebuilt with more Magnificence, p. 356.

Pembroke, Philip Earl of. Had no Malice to the King, but was led away by Prejudice, for Want of due Consideration, p. 57. His great Interest with the Rebels how employed, without his Privity, for the King's Service, p. 59. Is the chief of the Commissioners sent by the Parliament to receive the King from the *Scots*, p. 68. By whose Favour Mr. *Cresset* obtains a Place in the King's new Household, p. 170.

Peters Hugh, how much ador'd by the People, tho' known to be infamously wicked, p. 296. Suspected to be one of the Villains that attended in Masks to execute the bloody Sentence upon the King, *ibid.* Under Sentence of Death, how stupid and deaf to all good Advice, p. 297, 298. drawn to Execution with *Cook*, averse even to his good Counsel; seem'd to

have

The INDEX.

- have little Faith in God, whose Name he had so much abus'd, p. 299.
- Petre-House*, the Lord *Petre's* in *Aldersgate-street*, made a Prison, p. 98.
- Physician*, one of Note and Interest with the Rebels, shamefully deserts his old Friend Mr. *Lacy*, when taken Prisoner by them, and in great Want, p. 107. See Dr. *Wittie*.
- Pierce, William D. D.* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, p. 218.
- Plaze*, sent to the King by St. *John's College* in *Cambridge*. p. 24.
- Plate* of the King's Chapel, p. 534.
- Platt William Esq;* Benefactor to St. *John's College* in *Cambridge*, p. 24, 25.
- Poley John*, Fellow of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, one of the Proctors of the University, Anno 1642. and the King's Agent, for receiving what Money and Plate the University sent to his Majesty, p. 22, &c. See *Walker's* *Suf. of the Clergy*, P. II. p. 154.
- Polwheel*, Major, for his Loyalty imprisoned in the Lord *Petre's* House, admits Mr. *Barwick* to whisper to Mr. *Holder* confin'd in the next Room, thro' a Door that was nail'd up, p. 98.
- Pomfret Castle*, the Rebels chief Garison in the North, surprized and bravely defended by the Royalists, p. 109. Their glorious Enterprize in order either to save their captive General's Life, or revenge his Death, p. 110.
- Pope*, Colonel *Roger*. Brought back to his Allegiance by Mr. *Barwick*, p. 50. To whom he unburthens his Conscience when seized with the Plague, p. 52, &c. And receives Absolution and the blessed Sacrament from his Hands before he dies, p. 54.
- Presbyterian Faction* when become superior in Number to the *Independent*, aim at settling all Things conformably to the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight* p. 256.
- Protestation*, of the Bishop of *Durham* against a Scandal thrown upon him of having owned the *Nagg's-Head* Consecration, p. 172, 173. See *Morton*.
- Puritan Faction*, composed of the Dregs of every Sect, from secretly undermining the Church and Kingdom, proceed to attack both barefaced, p. 14. With the Countenance of what Friends, *ibid*.

Q.

Q *Charles William*, A. M. Fellow of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, one of the Authors of *Certain Disquisitions*, &c. written against the solemn League and Covenant, p. 39.

Querela

The I N D E X.

- Scambler Edmund*, D. D. Bishop of *Norwich*, p. 549.
- Scots*, when the King had surrendred himself to them on their most solemn Engagement to protect him, deliver him up to the *English* Rebels for two hundred thousand Pounds, p. 68. Treat by Commissioners with his Majesty, when Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, about the Means of restoring him, p. 96. In Consequence of that Treaty make an Irruption into *England* under Duke *Hamilton*, and are joined by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, p. 92, 93, 96. Defeated by *Cromwell* at *Dunbar*, and those that were taken Prisoners being shut up in *Durham* Cathedral, burn all the Wood-Work thereof to preserve themselves from perishing with Cold, p. 305.
- Sedberg* School, in *Yorkshire*, by whom founded and endowed, p. 6.
- Seditious*. See *Faction*, *Parliament*, *Rebels*.
- Shaw*, Mr. p. 179, 403.
- Sheffield* Castle, bravely defended against the Rebels by the Lady *Savile*, p. 112, 113. See *Savile*.
- Sheldon* *Gilbert*, D. D. Archbishop of *Canterbury*, where he began his great Friendship with Dr. *Barwick*, p. 279. Mistaken by our Author for Archbishop *Fuxon*, p. 368.
- Shipman*, Sir *Abraham*, p. 433, 459.
- Skinner* *Robert*, D. D. Bishop of *Oxford*, too remiss in the Affair of the Church, p. 201, 210, 218. Indulged the Liberty of preaching by the Usurpers, seemed too fearful of displeasing them, p. 219. Raises Objections against Dr. *Hammond's* Promotion to the See of *Worcester*, p. 240, &c.
- Slingsby*, Sir *Henry*, beheaded by the Rebels, p. 175.
- Spelman* *Clement*, p. 495, 514, 523.
- Spelman* Sir *Henry*, p. 496.
- Spiney*, Lord, Prisoner in the Tower for his Loyalty, stands Godfather to a Child christen'd there after the Rites of the Church of *England* by his fellow Prisoner Mr. *Barwick*, p. 145, &c.
- Stanley* *Charles*, Earl of *Derby*, with what others joins Sir *George Booth's* Expedition, p. 207. Which failing of Success, he is taken by the Rebels, but soon escapes out of Prison, p. 219. With what others he waits to receive his Majesty's Orders from Mr. *Barwick*, p. 231. See also p. 489, 505, 511, 524.
- Staveley*, a Village in *Lancashire*, p. 2.
- Sterne* *Richard*, D. D. Master of *Jesus* College in *Cambridge*, with what other Heads of Houses confined in the Hold of a Ship by the Rebels, and threatned to be sold for a Slave, p. 41, 42. See also p. 281. And a farther account of him in Dr. *Walker's* *Sufferings of the Clergy*, P. 2. p. 146.
- Stevens*, Sir *John*, p. 502.
- Steward*, Mr. p. 499.

The INDEX.

Strafford, Earl of. See *Wentworth*.

Succeſſion Episcopal. See *Bishops*.

Sudbury John, D. D. ſucceeds *Dr. Barwick* in the Deanery of *Durham*, p. 309.

Symmonds Edward, Rector of *Rayne* in *Effex*, p. 368. What he ſuffered for his Loyalty, p. 369. Enjoyed a Living in *Effex* as long as the Rebels permitted him, *ibid*. Wrote an Apology for King *Charles* the Firſt, p. 370. Carried his Majesty's Book intituled, 'Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ to Mr. *Royſton*, to be printed, p. 368, 369. Sunk under the Weight of his Sufferings, and died before the Reſtoration, p. 369.

T.

T*Hircroſs Timothy*, B. D. Fellow of *St. Mary Magdalen's* College in *Cambridge*, p. 339.

Thompkins, Citizen of *London*, put to Death by the Rebels, p. 64.

Thorndike Herbert, A. M. Fellow of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, p. 339, 401.

Thorneton, p. 178, 179, 403, 404, 405, 429, 451, 472.

Titus, Captain, with what others concert's Meaſures for the King's Escape out of *Carisbrook* Caſtle, p. 87, &c. See p. 381, 384, 385, 386, 389, 390, 395, 396.

Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, p. 220,

Treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, by whoſe Means procured, p. 105. Why to be held in that Place, *ibid*. Who were for ſettling the Nation according to the Articles of that Treaty, p. 256.

Turner Francis, D. D. Biſhop of *Ely*, p. 308, 350. *Thomas*, D. D.

Chancellor of *St. Paul's*, and Dean of *Canterbury*, p. 307, 308.

Thomas, D. D. Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford*,

p. 308. *William*. D. D. Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, p. 308.

V.

V*Ane*, Sir *Henry*, p. 471, 504.

Venables, Colonel *Robert*, a conſiderable Officer in *Cromwell's* Army, by the Lady *Savile's* Means dealt with to come over to the King's Intereſt, p. 162, 184. Suſpected by *Cromwell*, who therefore gives him the Command of the Forces to be ſent into *America*, p. 185. With which Colonel *Venables* had reſtored the King, but that he was betrayed, and ordered by Night to march immediately for *Portſmouth*, p. 185, 186. He again offers his Service to the King by Mr. *Barwick*, p. 186. Which how much his Majesty eſteems, p. 190. Lies concealed at Sir *George Booth's* Riſing, deſigning to ſurprize *Cheſter*,

The I N D E X.

Chester, if that Attempt should succeed, p. 207, 219. Is afterwards made Governor of that Castle by General *Monk*, p. 262. Mr. *Barwick* petitions his Majesty to reward his Services, and why, p. 277. See also p. 431. 451, 456, 471, 521, 522.

Universities. See *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, with what Hazard both espoused the Cause of God and the King, p. 45.

W.

Walker *Anthony*, Mr. *Barwick's* Pupil, p. 16. Corrupted in his Principles by the Master of another College, gets into Dr. *Gauden's* Family, p. 17, 362. What he learns from this new Instructor, *ibid.* Is recommended by him to be Chaplain to the Earl of *Warwick*, Admiral of the Rebels Fleet, p. 18. 362. Looks on while that Earl perverts part of the Fleet from their Allegiance (to which they had lately returned) without saying the least Word against it, p. 102. When above seventy Years old, and forty four Years after the King's Book was published, takes upon him to revive *Gauden's* impudent Pretence of having writ that Book, p. 375. At how seasonable a Time for venting his Malice against that most holy Martyr, p. 377.

Wallis John, D. D. most probably the Mathematician hired by the Rebels to decypher the King's Letters taken at *Naseby* Fight, p. 61, 251. And others of Mr. *Barwick*, &c. intercepted by the Garison of *Dunkirk*, p. 251, 252. Yet discovers nothing in the latter, that concerned the publick Safety, *ibid.* see also p. 501, 504, 510.

Ward Samuel. Master of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge*, and Lady *Margaret's* Professor of Divinity, ejected by the Rebels, p. 31. See *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, P. 2. p. 158.

Ward Seth, A. M. Fellow of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge*, one of the Authors of *Certain Disquisitions*, &c. written against the solemn League and Covenant, p. 37.

Warder, Sir *Edward*, p. 523.

Warner John, D. D. Bishop of *Rocheſter*, p. 218, 281, 547.

Warwick, *Robert* Earl of, Admiral of the Rebels Fleet, p. 18, 19, 363. By whom seduced from his Allegiance, p. 362. Corrupts part of the Fleet, after they had returned to their Duty, p. 102.

Warwick, Mr. p. 502.

Wederborn John, M. D. Physician to King *Charles* the First, afterwards made a Knight, p. 117. Hath the whole Care of Mr. *Barwick's* Health committed to him, *ibid.*

Wentworth, *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, opposes the Rage of the Faction against Church and State, p. 20, 21. And at last falls a Sacrifice thereto, and for what

The I N D E X.

- what end, p. 21. See also p. 24, 25. And his Letter to St. *John's* College, p. 550.
- West Francis*, Lieutenant of the Tower, how barbarously he treats his Prisoner Mr. *Barwick*, beyond the Orders of his Masters, p. 126, 127. But at last overcome by his Piety and Constancy, what Kindness he shews him, p. 151, 152. At length having obtained him his Liberty he dies of an Apoplexy, p. 156.
- Wether Slack*, a Village in *Westmoreland*, for whose Birth famous, p. 1. Its Chapel rebuilt and beautified by Dr. *Barwick*, and endowed with thirty Pounds a Year, p. 350.
- Wharton Thomas*, Student of *Grey's-Inn*, with Mr. *Royston*, is Bail for Mr. *Barwick* on his Enlargement out of Prison, p. 155.
- Wheeler*, Lady, p. 395, 396.
- Whiting*, p. 502.
- Whitley*, Colonel, p. 471, 475, 492.
- Wickham Henry*, D. D. p. 480, 481.
- Wickham Tobias*, afterwards D. D. p. 480, 481, 507.
- Willis Thomas*, M. D. where he began his intimate Acquaintance with Mr. *Barwick*, p. 281. See a farther Account of him in Dr. *Goodall's* Epistle Dedicatory to his Historical Account of the College's Proceedings against Empiricks, &c.
- Willis*, Sir *Richard*, p. 185, 454.
- Wimpole*, p. 329. See *Addenda*.
- Wittie Robert*, M. D. most likely the Physician that so basely deserted his old Friend Mr. *Lacy* in his Distress, p. 107.
- Witherings*, of the Post-Office, p. 381, 386, 388.
- Wood*, Major, p. 460.
- Worden* Colonel, p. 475, 476, 492, 511.
- Worseley*, Mr. (late Sir) *Edward*, p. 90, 384, 387, 390, 392, 396.
- Worship* of God, its Neglect not to be remedied, but in a full Synod of Bishops, p. 202.
- Worthington John*, D. D. misrepresented by Mr. *Wood*, p. 343, &c.
- Wrench Richard*, B. D. Fellow of St. *John's* College in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Prebendary of *Durham*, how dear a Friend to Dr. *Barwick*, p. 306.
- Wrenn Matthew*, D. D. Bishop of *Ely*, by the Rebels confined in the Tower. p. 201, 267. What the Ground of his Hope that General *Monk* would restore the King, p. 267, 268. See also p. 210, 218, 410, 412, 413, 414, 422, 424, 427, 430, 434, 439, 445, 450, 452, 453, 461, 462, 464, 488, 496, 520, 522, 546, 548, 549;

The INDEX.

Wrenn Matthew, the Bishop's Son, makes Experiment of a certain Mathematician's Art in decyphering Letters, p. 252. See also p. 422, 430, 431.

Wright, p. 475, 505.

Wynne, Sir Richard [of *Gwidder* in *Caernarvonshire*, Bart.] stands in Readiness with what others waiting the King's Orders, p. 183, 184. This Gentleman was the last Baronet of the Family, having by his Lady Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Daughter had only one Daughter and Heiress, who was Mother to his Grace the present Duke of *Ancafter*. Sir *Thomas Middleton's* other Son in Law mentioned with him (p. 183.) was only *Roger Grosvenor*, Esq; though my Author by Mistake makes him a Knight, for he died before his Father Sir *Richard Grosvenor* of *Eaton* in *Cheshire*, Bart. He was Grandfather to the present Sir *Richard Grosvenor*, Bart. This should have been observed in a Note on that Place, but that my Information came too late.

Y.

Y*Elverton*, Sir *Henry*, with his great Probity and Learning overcame the Prejudices of his Education, p. 212. Invites Bishop *Morton*, when very old and infirm, to live with him, entertains him with great Civility while he lives, and buries him honourably when he dies, p. 213. See also p. 209, 454, 466.

York, Duke of, p. 382, 386, 389, 396.

Z.

Z*Anchy*, a new Colonel of the *Irish* Army, is deserted by his Soldiers, at the Sight of their old Colonel *Redman*, p. 224.

FINIS.



